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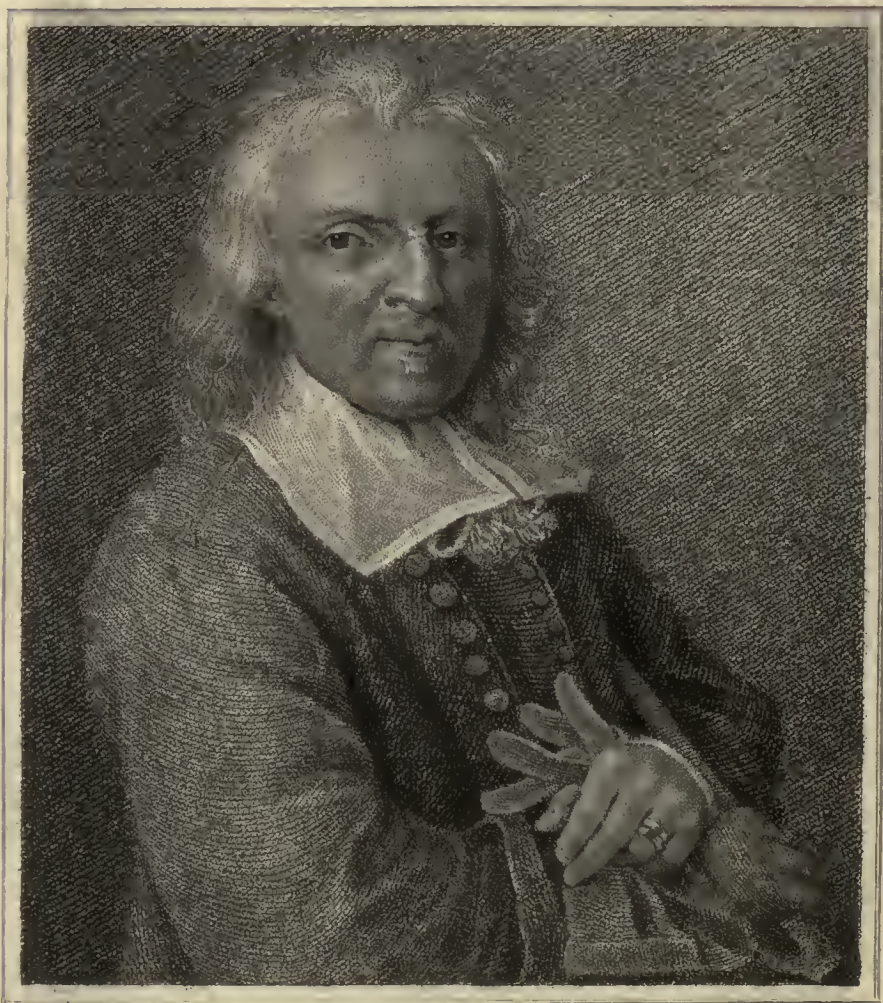
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Drawn by J. Hollar

Engraved by M. Borel

ISAAC WALTON.

*The Original Painting by Hollar, is in the Possession
Of M.^r Havers, at Salisbury.*

Published July 1. 1794. by M. Borel, N^o 207, Piccadilly, London.

THE

Mr. J. M. LIVES *Shirreff*

OF

DR. JOHN DONNE; SIR HENRY WOTTON;
MR. RICHARD HOOKER; MR. GEORGE HERBERT;
AND
DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

BY ISAAC WALTON.

WITH
NOTES, AND THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

BY THOMAS ZOUGH, M.A.

THESE WERE HONOURABLE MEN IN THEIR GENERATIONS. ECCLES. xlv. 7.

YORK:

PRINTED BY WILSON, SPENCE, AND MAWMAN.

SOLD BY J. ROBSON, NEW BOND-STREET, B. WHITE, FLEET-STREET, T. PAYNE, AT THE
MEWS-GATE, AND T. EGERTON, WHITEHALL, LONDON; J. COOKE, OXFORD; J. DEIGHTON, CAMBRIDGE;
AND WILSON, SPENCE, AND MAWMAN, J. TODD, AND H. SOTHERAN, YORK.

Anno 1796.

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1796

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR RICHARD PEPPER ARDEN,

MASTER OF THE ROLLS, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE
PRIVY COUNCIL.

SIR,

PERFECTLY sensible of that regard which you entertain for the virtuous character, I experience no difficulty in committing to your patronage a new edition of the following pages.—They contain portraits of genuine excellence, finished by no unskilful artist. Charmed from my earliest years with their captivating beauties, I shall probably be deemed a partial and prejudiced spectator. Be this as it may—when I request your permission to inscribe to you a volume which exhibits a full and adequate representation of persons eminent for their great and amiable qualities, I am confident of your kind indulgence. I am,

SIR,

with all possible respect,

your Honour's most obliged

and devoted servant,

WYCLIFFE, JAN. 16, 1796.

THOMAS ZOUCH.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

IT will be necessary to observe, that a more full and particular account of several of our English divines and other eminent persons mentioned in this volume might easily have been introduced. But such a detail would have far exceeded the bounds of my plan, which was only to intersperse some traits of their characters, some short extracts from, or references to their works, sufficient to incite in the reader a desire of acquiring a more intimate knowledge of them, by a diligent examination of their writings, or a more enlarged inquiry into their lives.

I CANNOT excuse myself from declaring that I retain the most lively sentiments of gratitude for those many instances of kindness with which, in the prosecution of this work, I have been favoured by several gentlemen of distinguished character in the republic of letters.

THE nave, transept or cross-aisles, with the chancel of the church of Leighton Bromeswold, when viewed in the year 1794, were in a state of decay, and great neglect. I am authorised, however, to say, that John Norris, Esq. of Magdalen College, in Oxford, lord of the manor of Leighton, and patron of the vicarage, intends, in concurrence with the parishioners, to restore the dilapidated parts of the fabric to their former strength and beauty.

The

PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE beautiful engraving of the north-east view of the church is not the performance of a professed artist, but of a gentleman of mild and amiable manners, who is now languishing under the pressure of undeserved misfortune.

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THE LIFE OF MR. ISAAC WALTON.

I PRESENT not to the reader the history of a wise statesman, an adventurous soldier, or a profound philosopher. Yet I trust, that he will experience no small degree of satisfaction from contemplating the virtues of a private citizen; who, though he arrogates not to himself the splendour of high descent, or the pride of superfluous wealth, deserves our approbation and regard. Isaac, or as he usually wrote his name, Izaak Walton, adorned with a guileless simplicity of manners, claims from every good man the tribute of applause. It was his ambition (and surely a more honourable ambition cannot be excited in the human breast) to commend to the reverence of posterity the merits of those excellent persons, whose comprehensive learning and exalted piety will ever endear them to our memories.

The important end of historical knowledge is a prudent application of it to ourselves, with a view to regulate and amend our own conduct. As the examples of men strictly and faithfully discharging their professional duties must obviously tend to invigorate our efforts to excel in moral worth, the virtuous characters, which are so happily delineated in the following pages, cannot fail, if considered with serious attention, of producing the most beneficial and lasting impressions on the mind.

The Life of the Author of this biographical collection was little diversified with events. He was born of a respectable family, on the ninth day of August, 1593, in the parish of St. Mary's, in the town of Stafford^a. Of his father no particular tradition is extant. From his mother he derived an hereditary attachment to the Protestant religion, as professed in the Church

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of

^a "September 1593. Baptiz. fuit Isaac filius Jervis Walton, XX^o die mensis et anni prædicti."—(*Register of St. Mary's, in the town of Stafford.*)

of England. She was the daughter of Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury, sister to Mr. George Cranmer the pupil and friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and niece to that first and brightest ornament of the Reformation, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. No vestiges of the place or manner of his education have been discovered: Nor have we any authentic information concerning his first engagements in a mercantile life. It has indeed been suggested, that he was one of those industrious young men, whom the munificence of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, had placed in the shops, which were erected in the upper buildings of his celebrated Burse^b. However this may be, he soon improved his fortune by his honesty, his frugality, and his diligence. His occupation, according to the tradition still preserved in his family, was that of a wholesale linen-draper, or Hamburgh merchant^c.

The writers of "The Life of Milton" have, with the most scrupulous attention, regularly marked out the different houses successively inhabited by the poet, "as if it was an injury to neglect any place, that he honoured by his presence." The various parts of London, in which Isaac Walton resided, have been recorded with the same precision. It is sufficient to intimate, that he was for some years an inhabitant of St. Dunstan's in the West. With Dr. John Donne, then vicar of that parish, of whose sermons he was a constant hearer, he contracted a friendship, which remained uninterrupted to their separation by death. This his parishioner attended him in his last sickness, and was present at the time that he consigned his sermons and numerous papers to the care of Dr. Henry King, who was promoted to the See of Chichester in 1641.

He married Anne, the daughter of Thomas Ken, Esq. of Furnival's Inn; a gentleman, whose family, of an ancient extraction, was united by alliance with several noble houses, and had possessed a very plentiful fortune for many generations, having been known by the name of the Kens of Ken-Place,

^b "Sir John Hawkins's Life of Walton," p. xiii.—The œconomy observed in the construction of the shops over the Burse scarce allowed him to have elbow-room. They were but seven feet and a half long, and five wide. (*See Ward's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, p. 12.)

^c According to Anthony Wood, he followed the trade of a sempster. (*Ath. Ox. Vol. I. vol. 305. See also Sir John Hawkins's Life of Walton*, p. xiii. xv.)

Place, in Somersetshire. She was the sister of Thomas Ken, afterward the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells. If there be a name to which I have been accustomed from my earliest youth to look up with reverential awe, it is that of this amiable prelate. The primitive innocence of his life, the suavity of his disposition, his taste for poetry and music, his acquirements as a polite scholar, his eloquence in the pulpit, for he was pronounced by James II. to be the first preacher among the Protestant Divines—These endearing qualities ensure to him our esteem and affection. But what principally commands our veneration is that invincible inflexibility of temper, which rendered him superior to every secular consideration. When from a strict adherence to the dictates of conscience he found himself reduced to a private station, he dignified that station by the magnanimity of his demeanour, by a humble and serene patience, by an ardent, but unaffected piety.

In 1643, Mr. Walton, having declined business, retired to a small estate in Staffordshire, not far from the town of Stafford. His loyalty made him obnoxious to the ruling powers; and we are assured by himself, that he was a sufferer during the time of the civil wars^d. In 1643 the Covenanters came back into England, marching with the Covenant gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto, "FOR THE CROWN AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS." "This," he adds, "I saw, and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruine of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, when I consider this, I praise God, that he prevented me from being of that party, which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it." He persevered in the most inviolable attachment to the royal cause. In many of his writings he pathetically laments the afflictions of his sovereign, and the wretched condition of his beloved country involved in all the miseries of intestine dissensions. The incident of his being instrumental in preserving the lesser George, which belonged

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to

^d See "Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderson," p. 441.

to Charles II. is related in "Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter*."

We may now apply to him what has been said of Mr. Cowley; "some few friends, a book, a cheerful heart, and innocent conscience were his companions." In this scene of rural privacy he was not unfrequently indulged with the company of learned and good men. Here, as in a safe and peaceful asylum, they met with the most cordial and grateful reception. And we are informed by the Oxford Antiquary, that, whenever he went from home, he resorted principally to the houses of the eminent clergymen of the Church of England, of whom he was much beloved. To a man desirous of dilating his intellectual improvements, no conversation could be more agreeable, than that of those divines, who were known to have distinguished him with their personal regard.

The Roman Poet, of whom it has been remarked that he made the happiest union of the courtier and the scholar, was of plebeian origin. Yet such was the attraction of his manners and deportment, that he classed among his friends the first and most illustrious of his contemporaries, Plotius and Varus, Pollio and Fuscus, the Visci and the Messalæ. Nor was Isaac Walton less fortunate in his social connexions. The times in which he lived were times of gloomy suspicion, of danger and distress, when a severe scrutiny into the public and private behaviour of men established a rigid discrimination of character. He must therefore be allowed to have possessed a peculiar excellency of disposition, who conciliated to himself an habitual intimacy with Usher the Apostolical Primate of Ireland, with Archbishop Sheldon, with Morton, Bishop of Durham, Pearson of Chester, and Sander son of Lincoln, with the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton, and the judicious Mr. Chillingworth; in short, with those who were
most

* The account is also preserved, by tradition, in the family. "Col. Blague remained at Mr. Barlow's house at Blore-Pipe, in Staffordshire, where, with Mr. Barlow's privity and advice, he hid his Majesty's George under a heap of dust and chips, whence it was conveyed through the trusty hands of Mr. Robert Milward of Stafford, to Mr. Isaac Walton, who conveyed it to London, to Col. Blague, then in the Tower; whence escaping not long after, he carried it with him beyond seas, and restored it to his Majesty's own hands." (*Plot's Hist. of Staffordshire, Ch. VIII. Sect. 77. See also Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter, p. 228.*)

most celebrated for their piety and learning. Nor could he be deficient in urbanity of manners or elegance of taste, who was the companion of Sir Henry Wotton, the most accomplished gentleman of his age'. The singular circumspection which he observed in the choice of his acquaintance, has not escaped the notice of Mr. Cotton. "My Father Walton," says he, "will be seen twice in no man's company he does not like; and likes none but such as he believes to be very honest men; which is one of the best arguments, or at least of the best testimonies I have, that I either am, or that he thinks me one of those, seeing I have not yet found him weary of me^s."

"My next and last example shall be that undervaluer of money, the late Provost of Eton College, Sir Henry Wotton, a man with whom I have often fished and conversed; a man, whom foreign employments in the service of this nation, and whose experience, learning, wit, and cheerfulness, made his company to be esteemed one of the delights of mankind."——
(*Complete Angler*, P. I. Ch. I.)

In Sir Henry Wotton's verses, written by him as he sat fishing on the bank of a river, he probably alludes to Walton himself, who often accompanied him in his innocent amusement:

"There stood my friend, with patient skill,
"Attending of his trembling quill."

That this amiable and excellent person set a high value on the conversation of his humble friend appears from the following letter:

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,
"Since I last saw you, I have been confined to my chamber by a quotidian fever, I thank God, of more contumacy than malignity. It had once left me, as I thought, but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a surcrew of those splenetick vapours, that are called Hypochondriacal; of which most say the cure is good company, and I desire no better physician than yourself. I have in one of those fits endeavoured to make it more easie by composing a short *hymn*; and since I have apparelled my best thoughts so lightly as in verse, I hope I shall be pardoned a second vanity, if I communicated it with such a friend as yourself; to whom I wish a cheerful spirit, and a thankful heart to value it, as one of the greatest blessings of our good God; in whose dear love I leave you, remaining
"Your poor friend to serve you,

"H. WOTTON."

(*Reliquie Wottonianæ*, p. 361. 4th edit.—See the *Hymn* mentioned in this Letter, in Walton's *Life of Dr. Donne*, p. 187.)

^s *Complete Angler*, P. II. Ch. I.

Before his retirement into the country, he published "The Life of Dr. Donne." It was originally appended to "LXXX Sermons, preached by that learned and reverend divine, John Donne, Dr. in Divinity, late Dean of the Cathedrall Church of St. Paul's, London, 1640." He had been solicited by Sir Henry Wotton, to supply him with materials for writing that Life. Sir Henry dying in 1639, before he had made any progress in the work, Isaac Walton engaged in it. This, his first essay in biography, was by more accurate revisions corrected, and considerably enlarged in subsequent editions. Donne has been principally commended as a poet;—Walton, who, as it has been already remarked, was a constant hearer of his sermons, makes him known to us as a preacher, eloquent, animated, affecting. His poems, like the sky bespangled with small stars, are occasionally interspersed with the ornaments of fine imagery. They must however be pronounced generally devoid of harmony of numbers, or beauty of versification. Involved in the language of metaphysical obscurity^h, they cannot be read but with fastidiousness: They abound in false thoughts, affected phrases, and unnatural conceitsⁱ. His sermons, though not without that pedantry which debases the writings of almost all the divines of those times, are often written with energy, elegance, and copiousness of style. Yet it must be confessed, that all the wit and eloquence of the author have been unable to secure them from neglect.

An

^h Dr. Donne affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign, and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts and entertain them with the softnesses of love. In this, if I may be pardoned for so bold a truth, Mr. Cowley has copied him to a fault, so great a one in my opinion, that it throws his "Mistress" infinitely below his Pindariques and his latter compositions, which are undoubtedly the best of his poems, and the most correct.—(*Mr. Dryden's Dedication, prefixed to the Translation of Juvenal and Persius.*)

ⁱ Mr. Pope has classed the English Poets by their school. First, School of Provence. Second, School of Chaucer. Third, School of Petrarch. Fourth, School of Dante. Fifth, School of Spenser. Sixth, School of Donne. In the latter school he has very injudiciously placed Michael Drayton, who wrote before Donne, and not in the least in his manner.—"Dr Donne's (poetical) writings are like a voluntary or prelude, in which a man is not tied to any particular design of air, but may change his key or mood at pleasure; so his compositions seem to have been written without any particular scope." (*Butler's Remains, Vol. II. p. 498.*)

An instance of filial gratitude and affection occurs in a letter from Mr. John Donne, junior, to Mr. Isaac Walton, thanking him for writing his father the Dean's Life.

" SIR,

" I fend this book rather to witness my debt, than to make any payment.
 " For it would be incivil in me to offer any satisfaction for that that all
 " my father's friends, and indeed all good men, are so equally engaged.
 " Courtesies that are done to the dead being examples of so much piety,
 " that they cannot have their reward in this life, because lasting as long,
 " and still (by awaking the like charity in others) propagating the debt
 " they must expect a retribution from him, who gave the first inclination.

" 2. And by this circle, Sir, I have set you in my place, and instead of
 " making you a payment, I have made you a debtor; but 'tis to Almighty
 " God, to whom I know you will be so willingly committed, that I may
 " safely take leave to write myself,

" Your thankful servant,

From my house in Covent-Garden, }
 24th. June, 1640.

JO. DONNE."

It is difficult to discover what correspondence subsisted between our biographer and the writer of the preceding letter, who, having been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Laws in the University of Padua, was incorporated in that degree at Oxford, in 1638*. In a will which was printed in 1662, Dr. John Donne, junior, bequeathed all his father's writings, with his "Common Place Book," to Isaac Walton, for the use of his son, if he should be brought up a scholar. That he was a clergyman, and had some preferment in the diocese of Peterborough, we learn from a letter written to him by Dr. John Towers, Bishop of Peterborough, his diocesan; wherein his Lordship thanks him for the first volume of his father's sermons, telling him, that his parishioners may pardon his silence to them for a while, since by it he hath preached to them and to their children's children, and to all our English parishes, for ever. Anthony Wood, although he describes him as a man of sense and parts, is unfavourable :

* He died in 1682, and was buried in the Churchyard of St. Paul, in Covent-Garden.

able to his memory. He represents him as no better than "an atheistical buffoon, a banterer, and a person of over-free thoughts, yet valued by Charles II." With a sarcasm not unusual to him, he informs his reader, that Dr. Walter Pope "leads an epicurean and heathenish life, much like to that of Dr. Donne, the son." Bishop Kennet, in his "Register," p. 318, calling him, by mistake, Dr. John Downe, names him as the editor of "A Collection of Letters made by Sir Toby Matthews, Knight," with a character of the most excellent Lady, Lucy Countess of Carlisle, by the same author; to which are added several letters of his own to several persons of honour, who were contemporary with him, London, 1660, 8^{vo}. I cannot but observe, that he neither consulted the reputation of his father, nor the public good, when he caused the "Biathanatos" to be printed. If he was determined, at all events, to disregard the injunctions of parental authority, would it not have been more expedient to have committed the manuscript to the flames, rather than to have encountered the hazard of diffusing certain novel opinions, from which no good consequences could possibly arise? For though those effects did not actually follow, which are mentioned by an industrious foreign writer¹, who tells us, that on the first publication of this work, many persons laid violent hands on themselves; yet

¹ The following account of Dr. Donne is given in "Morhoff's Polyhistor," L. VI. C. IV. § xviii. "Inter quos numerandum puto JOHANNEM DONNE, Ecclesiæ S. Pauli apud Londinenses Decanum. Ingeniosissimum fuisse *Poemata ejus juvenilia* ostendunt Londini A. 1633 in 4 edita, quæ anno ætatis 18 scripsit, plena argutissimorum conceptuum: Quorum aliquot in Linguam Belgicam vertit Constantius Hugonius a Carolo secundo Rege sollicitatus, qui inimitabilem Germanis et Belgis hujus viri stylum putabat. *Sermones* vero sacros elegantissimos et multos, et in varios S. Scripturæ textus emisit Londini, diversis annis. Scripsit et *Meditationes* super morbo suo *sacras*, quæ in Linguam Belgicam converfæ et Amstelodami 1655, in 12 editæ. sunt. Scripsit et Librum, quem a tali Viro scribi potuisse plane mirere, quippe qui *ἀντοχειαν*, certis in casibus, licitam quoque esse affirmaret: Titulus, *Βιαβαστος*: *That self-murder is not so naturally a sin, that it may never be otherwise*: Editus vero liber demum post mortem Auctoris est: Atque, ut aiunt, ipso etiam, dum viveret, ejus editionem ferio deprecante prohibenteque, Londini 1648, in 4to. At mox, cum prodiiisset, adeo se multis hominibus probavit, ut haud pauci ejus Lectione ad mortem voluntariam adacti memorentur: Recusus certe iterum Londini est, 1644. Et haud dubie dedit occasionem scribendo alii Libro, nescio cujus Anonymi, qui perniciosissimam opinionem ex animis hominum evellere haud abs Re tentabat." (*Pellicanicidium, or the Christian Adviser against Self-murder: Together with a Guide, and the Pilgrim's Pass to the Land of the Living*, Lond. 1653, in 8vo.)

yet the most remote probability of danger accruing from it should have induced him entirely to have suppressed it. But to return from this digression.

The narrative of the vision in this Life of Dr. Donne hath subjected the author to some severe animadversions. Let it however be remembered, that he probably related the matter with cautious and discreet fidelity, as it was really represented to him. The account is not inserted in the earlier editions of Dr. Donne's Life. Hence we may presume that the strictest and most severe inquiry was made before its introduction. Plutarch is not esteemed a credulous writer: Yet he has given a full and circumstantial history of the appearances that presented themselves to Dion and to Brutus. And in modern times Dr. Doddridge, a most sedulous examiner of facts, and of all men the least liable to credulity and weakness of understanding, published a relation of an extraordinary vision. Let it be remarked that, according to the opinion of a medical writer of great eminence, a discriminating symptom of human insanity is "the rising up in the mind of images not distinguishable by the patient from impressions upon the senses."—To a momentary delusion originating from some bodily disorder we may safely attribute the visions or false perceptions, of which many authentic descriptions have been transmitted to us; and we may easily suppose that Dr. Donne, separated from his beloved wife and family, whom he had left in a very distressful situation, must have suffered the most poignant anxiety of mind, and of course much indisposition of body^m.

When the first years of man have been devoted to "the diligence of trades and noiseful gain," we have no reason to hope that his mind will be replenished by study, or enriched with literature. In the *lucrative*, as well as in the *political* life, men are tempted to assume some of those habits or dispositions, which are not entirely consistent with the principles of justice or honour. An eagerness to amass wealth, not seldom extinguishes every other affection. But it was not thus with Isaac Walton. Firm and uncorrupted in his integrity, he no sooner bade farewell to his commercial concerns,

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cerns,

^m See "Plin. Epist." L. VII. Epist. 27. "Biographia Britannica," in the articles BEN JONSON, ANDREW MARVEL. See also "Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion," Vol. I. p. 42.

cerns, than he gave the most convincing proofs of his attention to the most laudable pursuits. He had already written the life of one friend. He now undertook to exhibit a testimony of respect to the memory of another. In 1651, he was the editor of "*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, or a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of sundry Personages, and other incomparable Pieces of Language and Art, by the curious Pencil of the ever-memorable Sir Henry Wotton, Knt. late Provost of Eaton College.*" This collection is dedicated "to Lady Mary Wotton, relict of the last Lord Wotton, and to her three noble daughters." These ladies communicated to him many original letters, written by their illustrious relation. After the Dedication follows "The Life of Sir Henry Wotton." In the succeeding editions, the volume is inscribed to the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Stanhope of Shelford, and great nephew to Sir Henry Wotton". This nobleman accompanying his mother, the Lady Catharine Stanhope, into Holland, where she attended the Princess of Orange, daughter to Charles I. had his education along with William, Prince of Orange, afterward advanced to the throne of England, and became very serviceable in promoting the restoration of the Royal Family. He loved the memory, and imitated the virtues of his generous uncle. By a life of strict temperance he attained to a great age. He died, January 28, 1713°. It is proper
to

° The mother of this Lord Chesterfield was Catharine the eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Wotton, and relict of Henry Lord Stanhope, who died before his father the Earl of Chesterfield. She had been governess to Mary Princess of Orange, and after the Restoration was made Countess of Chesterfield. See "Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting," Vol. II. p. 113.

° A contemporary writer has thus delineated the characters of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton—"To speak it in a word, the Trojan Horse was not fuller of heroic Grecians, than King James's reign was full of men excellent in all kinds of learning. And here I desire the reader's leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance: the one was Mr. John Donne, who, leaving Oxford, lived at the Inns of Court, not dissolute, but very neat; a great visitor of ladies, a great writer of conceited verses, until such time as King James, taking notice of the pregnancy of his wit, was a means that he took him to the study of divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor was made Dean of St. Paul's, and became so rare a preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was Henry Wotton (mine old acquaintance also, as having been fellow pupils and
chamber-

to observe, that a later edition of the “*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, namely that of 1685, is enriched with Sir Henry Wotton’s Letters to Lord Zouch, who was eminent among his contemporaries as an able statesman and an accomplished scholar.

“The Church History of Great Britain,” compiled by Dr. Thomas Fuller, whose writings, though far from being without blemish, are of inestimable value, was first published in 1655. A conversation, seasoned with much pleasantness and innocent jocularities, is said to have passed between the author and his ever cheerful and friendly acquaintance, Mr. Isaac Walton, upon the general character of this Work. Walton having paid him a visit, it was asked by Fuller, who knew how intimate he was with several of the bishops and ancient clergy, first, What he thought of the history himself, and then, what reception it had met with among them. Walton answered, that he thought “it should be acceptable to all tempers; because there were *shades* in it for the warm, and *sun-shine* for those of a cold constitution; that with *youthful readers* the facetious parts would be profitable to make the serious more palatable; while some reverend *old readers* might fancy themselves in his History of the Church, as in a flower garden, or one full of evergreens.”—“And why not,” said Fuller, “the *Church History* so decked as well as *the Church* itself at a most *holy season*, or the *tabernacle* of old at the *Feast of Boughs*?”—“That was but for a season,” said Walton; “in your *Feast of Boughs*, they may conceive, we are so overshadowed throughout; that the parson is more seen than his congregation, and this sometimes invisible to its old acquaintance, who may wander in the search, till they are lost in the labyrinth.” “Oh!” says Fuller, “the very *Children* of our *Israel* may find their way out of this *wildernefs*.” “True,” returned Walton, “as indeed they have here such a Moses to conduct them?”

C 2.

His

chamber-fellows in Oxford divers years together.) This gentleman was employed by King James in embassy to Venice; and indeed the kingdom afforded not a fitter man for matching the capaciousness of the Italian wits: A man of so able dexterity with his pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the kingdom more, in leaving no more of his writings behind him.” (*Sir Richard Baker’s Chronicle of the Kings of England*, London, 1684.)

* See “*Biogr. Brit.*” p. 2061. [P]

His next work was "The Life of Mr. Richard Hooker^a," which first appeared in 1662. It was composed at the earnest request of Dr. Sheldon, then Bishop of London; and with the express purpose of correcting some errors committed by Dr. Gauden, from mere inadvertency and haste, in his account of "*that immortal man*," as he has been emphatically styled, "*who spoke no language but that of truth dictated by conscience*." Gauden seems to have been extremely deficient in his information, and, dying soon afterward, had no opportunity of revising and amending his very imperfect and inaccurate memoir. This was followed by "The Life of Mr. George Herbert," usually called "the Divine Herbert," in 1670. In 1678, he concluded his biographical labours with "The Life of Dr. Robert Sanderfon." Previous to the publication of this last work he received the following interesting letter from Dr. Thomas Barlow, then Bishop of Lincoln, who had been for many years the intimate friend of Dr. Sanderfon during his residence at Oxford, and after his retirement into the country.

"MY

^a Sir John Hawkins, in his "Life of Mr. Isaac Walton," inadvertently observes, that Mr. Hooker was personally known to his biographer. The former died in 1600; the latter was then only seven years of age, being born in 1593.

^r The following letter is transcribed from a MS. in the library bequeathed to the corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Dr. Tomlinson, formerly Rector of Whickham, in the county of Durham.

"SIR,

"You see I have not forgot my promise to you: Here are your two books: If you have never read the preface to your beloved 'A Kempis,' I fancy, it will please you well; and, if it do, send up one tender thought for him, who conveys it to your hand. *The Life of good Mr. Herbert is full of discoveries of a sweet composed harmonious mind, that it will not be ungrateful neither*: One hour with such entertainment is better than a life of long enjoyment of the pleasures of the Louvre. It is Sunday morning, and I am hastening to prayers. So give me leave to beg a share in your prayers for myself, for your servant my wife, and for the babies.

"I am, with all sincerity,

Dr. ^d. 12 June
81

"Sir, your affectionate servant,

"PERTH."

"For Mr. James Aird, from his affec. servant, PERTH."

“ MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. WALTON,

“ I am heartily glad, that you have undertaken to write the Life of that
 “ excellent person, and, both for learning and piety, eminent prelate,
 “ Dr. Sanderfon, late Bishop of Lincoln; because I know your ability to
 “ know, and integrity to write truth: And sure I am, that the life and
 “ actions of that pious and learned prelate will afford you matter enough
 “ for his commendation, and the imitation of posterity. In order to the
 “ carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I
 “ would communicate to you such particular passages of his life, as were
 “ certainly known to me. I confess I had the happiness to be particularly
 “ known to him for about the space of twenty years; and, in Oxon, to
 “ enjoy his conversation, and his learned and pious instructions while he
 “ was Regius Professor of Divinity there. Afterwards, when (in the time
 “ of our late unhappy confusions) he left Oxon, and was retired into the
 “ country, I had the benefit of his letters; wherein, with great candour
 “ and kindness, he answered those doubts I proposed, and gave me that
 “ satisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from some others of
 “ greater confidence, but less judgment and humility. Having in a letter
 “ named two or three books writ (*ex professo*) against the being of any
 “ original sin; and that Adam, by his fall, transmitted some calamity
 “ only, but no crime to his posterity; the good old man was exceedingly
 “ troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seemed
 “ to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be
 “ permitted to publish any error so contradictory to truth, and the doctrine
 “ of the Church of England, established (as he truly said) by clear
 “ evidence of scripture, and the just and supreme power of this nation,
 “ both sacred and civil. I name not the books, nor their authors, which
 “ are not unknown to learned men (and I wish they had never been
 “ known), because both the doctrine, and the unadvised abettors of it are,
 “ and shall be, to me apocryphal^s.

“ Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an argument of
 “ Dr. Sanderfon’s piety, great ability, and judgment, as a casuist. Dis-
 “ courting

^s The writer principally alluded to in this part of the Letter, was the excellent Dr. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Clonner.

“courting with an honourable person” (whose piety I value more than
 “his nobility and learning, though both be great,) about a case of consci-
 “ence concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation; in which,
 “for some particular reasons, he then desired more fully to be informed; I
 “commended to him Dr. Sanderson’s book ‘De Juramento;’ which hav-
 “ing read, with great satisfaction, he asked me,—‘If I thought the Doctor
 “could be induced to write Cases of Conscience, if he might have an
 “honorary pension allowed him, to furnish him with books for that pur-
 “pose?’ I told him ‘I believed he would:’ And, in a letter to the Doctor,
 “told him what great satisfaction that honourable person, and many more,
 “had reaped by reading his book ‘De Juramento;’ and asked him, ‘whe-
 “ther he would be pleased, for the benefit of the Church, to write some
 “tract of Cases of Conscience?’ He replied, ‘That he was glad that any
 “had received any benefit by his books:’ And added further, ‘That if
 “any future tract of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seemed to
 “say his former had done, he would willingly, though without any pen-
 “sion, set about that work.’ Having received this answer, that honour-
 “able person, before mentioned, did, by my hands, return 50l. to the good
 “Doctor, whose condition then (as most good men’s at that time were)
 “was but low; and he presently revised, finished, and published that ex-
 “cellent book, ‘De Conscientiâ:’ A book little in bulk, but not so if we
 “consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it. For there
 “are so many general propositions concerning conscience, the nature and
 “obligation of it explained, and proved with such firm consequence and
 “evidence of reason, that he who reads, remembers, and can with prudence
 “pertinently apply them *hic et nunc* to particular cases, may, by their light
 “and help, rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of
 “conscience. Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in
 “promoting, and the piety and industry of the good Doctor, in performing
 “that excellent work.

“And here I shall add the judgment of that learned and pious prelate
 “concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he
 “was

‘Robert Boyle, Esq.

“ was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the schools as Regius Pro-
 “ fessor of Divinity, and by the truth of his positions, and evidences of his
 “ proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers, especially
 “ in his clear resolutions of all difficult cases which occurred in the expli-
 “ cation of the subject matter of his lectures; a person of quality (yet alive)
 “ privately asked him, ‘ What course a young divine should take in his
 “ studies to enable him to be a good casuist?’ His answer was, ‘ That a
 “ convenient understanding of the learned languages, at least of Hebrew,
 “ Greek, and Latin, and a sufficient knowledge of arts and sciences pre-
 “ supposed: There were two things in human literature, a comprehension
 “ of which would be of very great use, to enable a man to be a rational
 “ and able casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible:
 “ 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of
 “ it which treats of the nature of human actions: To know, *quid sit actus*
 “ *humanus (spontaneus, invitus, mixtus) unde habent bonitatem et malitiam*
 “ *moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?* How the variety
 “ of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of human actions? How far
 “ knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish
 “ the goodness or evil of our actions? For every case of conscience being
 “ only this—*Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?*—He
 “ who, in these, knows not how and whence human actions become
 “ morally good and evil, never can (in hypothesis) rationally and certainly
 “ determine, whether this or that particular action be so.—2. The second
 “ thing, which,’ he said, ‘ would be a great help and advantage to a casuist,
 “ was a convenient knowledge of the nature and obligation of laws in
 “ general: to know what a law is; what a natural and positive law; what’s
 “ required to the *Latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis*; what pro-
 “ mulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of any positive law;
 “ what ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does excuse, diminish,
 “ or aggravate the transgression: For every case of conscience being only
 “ this—*Is this lawful for me, or is it not?* and the law the only rule and
 “ measure by which I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of
 “ any action; it evidently follows, that he, who, in these, knows not the
 “ nature and obligation of laws, never can be a good casuist, or rationally
 “ assure

" assure himself, or others, of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of actions in particular."

" This was the judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious prelate: And having, by long experience, found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive, I could not without ingratitude to him, and want of charity to others, conceal it.—Pray pardon this rude, and, I fear, impertinent scribble, which, if nothing else, may signify thus much, that I am willing to obey your desires, and am indeed,

" Your affectionate friend,

LONDON, May 10, 1678.

" THOMAS LINCOLN."

Among the literary characters of the sixteenth century, none appears with more transcendent lustre than that of Sir Henry Savile, a magnificent patron of merit, and a complete gentleman. He seems to have traversed the whole range of science, being equally celebrated for his knowledge of ancient and modern learning. The life of this illustrious scholar would be a valuable acquisition to the Republic of Letters. That it was actually compiled by Mr. Isaac Walton, we have every reason to conclude. Dr. King Bishop of Chichester, in his letter to him, dated Nov. 17, 1664, tells him, that " he has done much for Sir Henry Savile, the contemporary and friend of Mr. Richard Hooker." It is seriously to be regretted, that the most diligent inquiry after this work has hitherto proved unsuccessful.

Among

^u The following particulars, relative to Sir Henry Savile are collected from Mr. Aubrey's " Lives of Mathematical Writers." He was as learned a gentleman as any of his time. Mr. Hobbes informed Mr. Aubrey, that Sir Henry Savile was ambitious of being thought as great a scholar as Joseph Scaliger. But if in the attainments of classic literature he was inferior to Scaliger, in mathematical knowledge Dr. Wallis declared him to be exceeded by none of his contemporaries. He was a very handsome and beautiful man: No lady had a fairer complexion. Queen Elizabeth, to whom he explained Greek authors and politics, favoured him much. He was preferred by her to be Master of Eton College, of which he was so severe a governor, that the scholars hated him for his austerity. To men of wit he gave no encouragement. When a young scholar was named to him as a good wit, he would reject him, and choose the plodding student. John Earle, afterward Bishop of Sarum, being recommended to him, on that account, was the only one of that character, to whom he extended

Among those whom Sir Henry Savile honoured with his friendship was Mr. John Hales of Eton. Mr. Anthony Farringdon, an eminent preacher, and a man of extensive learning and exemplary piety, had collected materials with a view to write the life of this incomparable person. On his demise, his papers were consigned to the care of Mr. Isaac Walton, by Mr. William Fulman, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who had proposed to finish the work, and on that occasion had applied for the assistance of our biographer. The result of this application is not known. "Fulman's Collection of Manuscripts," written with his own hand, was deposited in the archives of the library of his college, and Wood laments that he was refused access to them. It is unnecessary to add, that "The Life of Mr. Hales," by Mr. Dez-maizeaux, was published in 1716.

Angling had been long a favourite diversion in England. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, the composer of "that good plain unperplexed Catechism, which is in our good old Service Book," was a lover of, and most experienced proficient in this delightful art. It was his custom, besides his fixed hours of private and public prayer, to spend a tenth part of

D

his

tended his patronage. He treated the Fellows of Eton College with asperity; and his influence with the Queen rendered all opposition vain. When Mr. Gunter came from London to be appointed his Professor in Geometry, he brought with him his sector and quadrant, with which he began to resolve triangles, and to perform several operations. This disgusted the grave knight, who considered the operations as so many tricks below the dignity of a mathematician, and he immediately conferred the professorship on another candidate, Mr. Briggs from Cambridge.—Mr. Aubrey learned from Dr. Wallis, that Sir Henry Savile had sufficiently confuted Joseph Scaliger's Tract "*De Quadraturâ Circuli*," in his notes on the very margin of the book: And that, sometimes, when Scaliger says, "*A B C D ex Constructione*," Sir Henry adds with his pen; "*et demonstratio vestra est asinus ex constructione*."

In his travels he had contracted a general acquaintance with learned men abroad; by which means he had access to several Greek MSS. in their libraries, and thus obtained correct copies by his amanuensis, who transcribed the Greek character with admirable skill. Fronton Ducaeus, a French Jesuit of Bourdeaux, clandestinely engaged a person to supply him, every week, with the sheets of Sir Henry Savile's Greek edition of "*The Works of Chrysostom*," printed at Eton, of which he composed a Latin translation; and published "*Chrysostom's Works*," in Greek and Latin; thus superseding the sale of the English impression. Sir Henry Savile died Feb. 19, 1621, having been Provost of Eton College twenty-five years.

his time in this amusement, and also to bestow a tenth part of his revenue, and usually all his fish among the poor, saying, that "charity gave life to religion"^w An elegant Latin poem^x, written by Dr. Simon Ford, was inscribed to Archbishop Sheldon, who, in his younger years, being fond of this diversion, is said to have acquired a superior skill in taking the Umber or Barbel, "a heavy and a dogged fish to be dealt withal." Dr. Donne is called "a great practitioner, master, and patron of angling^x." And we learn from good authority, that Mr. George Herbert loved angling; a circumstance that is rather to be believed, "because he had a spirit suitable to anglers, and to those primitive Christians who are so much loved and commended." Let not these remarks provoke the chastisement of censure: Let them not be condemned as nugatory and insignificant: Amidst our disquietudes and delusive cares, amidst the painful anxiety, the disgustful irksomeness, which are often the unwelcome attendants on business and on study, an harmless gratification is not merely excusable, it is in some degree necessary.

^v See "Walton's Complete Angler," Part I. Ch. I.—At Brazen-Nose College, in Oxford, of which Dr. Nowell was Principal, is a portrait of him with a fishing-rod over his head, a paper of fishing-hooks in his hand, and this inscription:

ALEXANDER NOWELLUS, SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ PROFESSOR,
S. PAULI DECANUS OBIIT 13 FEB. ANNO DOM. 1601, R. R. ELIZ. 44.
AN. DECANATUS 42. ETATIS SUÆ 95; CUM NEQUE OCULI
CALIGARENT, NEQUE AURES OBTUSIORES, NEQUE MEMORIA
INFIRMIOR, NEQUE ANIMI ULLE FACULTATES VIETÆ ESSENT.
PISCATOR HOMINUM.

(Gutch's *Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford*, p. 370.)

Among other acts of beneficence, this venerable man founded the Free Grammar School of Middleton, in Lancashire, in 1572, and endowed it with a small stipend for two masters.

^w "Musæ Anglicanæ," Vol. I. p. 97.—Gervase Markham, the author of "The Whole Art of Angling," 4to. 1656, rather proceeds too far, when he tells his reader, that an angler should be "a general scholar, and seen in all the liberal sciences;" that he should be "a grammarian, a logician, and a philosopher."

^x The Author of "The Angler's Sure Guide," 8vo. 1706, has attributed a book entitled, "The Secrets of Angling, by J. D." to Dr. Donne.

necessary¹. In the skilful management of the angle, Isaac Walton is acknowledged to bear away the prize from all his contemporaries. The river which he seems principally to have frequented, for the purpose of pursuing his inoffensive amusement, was the Lea, which, rising above the town of Ware in Hertfordshire, falls into the Thames a little below Blackwall; "unless we will suppose that the vicinity of the New River to the place of his habitation might sometimes tempt him out with his friends, honest Nat and R. Roe, whose loss he so pathetically mentions, to spend an afternoon there²." In his tract of "The Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation," he has comprised the clearest and fullest instructions for the attainment of a thorough proficiency in the art. James Duport, the Greek Professor at Cambridge, who was far from being a novice in the use of the rod³, disdained not, on this occasion, to address our author in a beautiful Latin Iambic Ode, of which the following classic version will not be unacceptable to the reader^b.

"Hail Walton! honoured friend of mine,
 "Mighty master of the line!
 "Whether down some valley's side
 "You walk to watch the smooth stream glide,
 "Or on the flow'ry margin stand
 "To cheat the fish with cunning hand,

D 2

"Or

¹ "The Experienced Angler," a little tract, written by Colonel Robert Venables, is now before me. The perusal of it calls to memory the days of youth, the guileless scenes of earlier life, spent with innocent companions, in "delightful walks by pleasant rivers, in sweet pastures, and among odoriferous flowers." The concluding observation in this little book applies to all readers: "*Make not a daily practice, which is nothing else but a profession, of any recreation; lest your immoderate love and delight therein bring a cross with it, and blast all your content and pleasure in the same.*" I mention this entertaining work, because Isaac Walton has prefixed to it not a preface, but an "Epistle to the Author," who was personally unknown to him. Having accidentally seen the discourse in manuscript, he held himself obliged, in point of gratitude, for the great advantage he had received thereby, to tender his particular acknowledgment. The testimony of so expert an angler could not fail of recommending the tract.

² "Biographical Dictionary," in the article WALTON ISAAC.

³ He calls himself "Candidatum arundinis."

^b For this version I am indebted to Mr. James Tate, B. A. Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

" Or on the green bank, feated still,
 " With quick eye guard the dancing quill.
 " Thrice happy sage ! who, distant far
 " From the wrangling forum's war,
 " From the city's bustling train,
 " From the busy hum of men,
 " Haunt some gentle stream, and ply
 " Your honest crafts, to lure the fry :
 " And while the world around you set-
 " The base decoy and treacherous net,
 " Man against man, th' insidious wile,
 " Or, the rich dotard to beguile,
 " Bait high with gifts the smiling hook
 " All gilt with Flattery's sweetest look ;
 " Arm'd for the innocent deceit,
 " You love the scaly brood to cheat,
 " And tempt that water-wolf, the pike,
 " With rav'ning tooth his prey to strike,
 " Or in the minnow's living head
 " Or in the writhed brandling red
 " Fix your well-charged hook, to gull
 " The greedy perch, bold biting fool,
 " Or with the tender mofs-worm tried
 " Win the nice trout's speckled pride,
 " Or on the carp, whose wary eye
 " Admits no vulgar tackle nigh,
 " Essay your art's supreme address,
 " And beat the fox in sheer finesse :
 " The tench, physician of the brook,
 " Owns the magic of your hook,
 " The little gudgeon's thoughtless haste
 " Yields a brief yet sweet repast,
 " And the whifker'd barble pays
 " His coarser bulk to swell your praise.
 " Such the amusement of your hours,
 " While the season aids your powers ;
 " Nor shall my friend a single day
 " Ere pass without a line away.
 " Nor these alone your honours bound,
 " The tricks experience has found ;

" Sublimer

" Sublimer theory lifts your name
 " Above the fisher's simple fame,
 " And in the practice you excel
 " Of what none else can teach as well,
 " And wield at once with equal skill
 " The useful powers of either quill.
 " With all that winning grace of style,
 " What else were tedious, to beguile,
 " A second Oppian, you impart
 " The secrets of the angling art,
 " Each fish's nature, and how best
 " To fit the bait to every taste,
 " Till in the scholar, that you train,
 " The accomplish'd master lives again.
 " And yet your pen aspires above
 " The maxims of the art you love;
 " Tho' virtues, faintly taught by rule,
 " Are better learnt in angling's school,
 " Where Temperance, that drinks the rill,
 " And Patience, sovereign over ill,
 " By many an active lesson bought,
 " Refine the soul, and steel the thought.
 " Far higher truths you love to start,
 " To train us to a nobler art,
 " And in the lives of good men give
 " That chiefest lesson, how to live;
 " While Hooker, philosophic sage,
 " Becomes the wonder of your page,
 " Or while we see combin'd in one
 " The Wit and the Divine in Donne,
 " Or while the Poet and the Priest,
 " In Herbert's fainted form confest,
 " Unfold the temple's holy maze
 " That awes and yet invites our gaze:
 " Worthies these of pious name
 " From your pourtraying pencil claim
 " A second life, and strike anew
 " With fond delight the admiring view.
 " And thus at once the peopled brook
 " Submits its captives to your hook,

" And

"And we, the wiser sons of men,
 "Yield to the magic of your pen,
 "While angling on some streamlet's brink
 "The muse and you combine to think."

In this volume of "The Complete Angler," which will be always read with avidity, even by those who entertain no strong relish for the art which it professes to teach, we discover a copious vein of innocent pleasantries and good humour. The scenes descriptive of rural life are inimitably beautiful. How artless and unadorned is the language! The dialogue is diversified with all the characteristic beauties of colloquial composition. The songs and little poems, which are occasionally inserted, will abundantly gratify the reader, who has a taste for the charms of pastoral poetry. And, above all, those lovely lessons of religious and moral instruction, which are so repeatedly inculcated throughout the whole work, will ever recommend this exquisitely pleasing performance. It was first printed in 1653, with the figures of the fishes very elegantly engraved, probably by Lombart, on plates of steel; and was so generally read as to pass through five editions during the life of the author. The second edition is dated in 1655, the third in 1661; and in 1668, the fourth appeared with many valuable additions, and improvements. The lovers of angling, to whom this treatise is familiar, are apprised, that the art of fishing with the fly is not discussed with sufficient accuracy; the few directions that are given, having been principally

"I venture to quote the following beautiful passage. "Content will never dwell but in a meek and quiet soul. And this may appear, if we read and consider what our Saviour says in St. Matthew's Gospel: For there he says, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy: Blessed be the pure in heart, for they shall see God: Blessed be the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God: And blessed be the meek, for they shall possess the earth.' Not that the meek shall not also obtain mercy, and see God, and be comforted, and at last come to the kingdom of heaven; but in the mean time he, and he only, possesses the earth as he goes towards that kingdom of heaven, by being humble, and cheerful, and content with what his good God has allotted him. He has no turbulent, repining, vexatious thoughts, that he deserves better; nor is vexed, when he sees others possess of more honour, or more riches than his wife God has allotted for his share: But he possesses what he has with a meek and contented quietness, such a quietness as makes his very dreams pleasing both to God and himself." (*Complete Angler*, P. I. Ch. xxi.)

cipally communicated by Mr. Thomas Barker, who has written a very entertaining tract on the subject. To remedy this defect, and to give lessons how to angle for a trout or grayling in a clear stream, a fifth and much improved edition was published in 1676, with a second part by Charles Cotton^d, of Beresford, in Staffordshire, Esq. This gentleman, who is represented as the most laborious trout-catcher, if not the most experienced angler for trout and grayling that England ever had, to testify his regard for Mr. Walton, had caused the words PISCATORIBUS SACRUM, with a cypher underneath, comprehending the initial letters of both their names, to be inscribed on the front of his fishing-house. This little building was situated near the banks of the river Dove, which divides the two counties of Stafford and Derby. Here Mr. Walton usually spent his vernal months, carrying with him the best and choicest of all earthly blessings, a contemplative mind, a cheerful disposition, an active and an healthful body. So beauteous did the scenery of this delightful spot appear to him, that, to use his own words, "the pleasantness of the river, mountains, and meadows about it, cannot be described, unless Sir Philip Sidney, or Mr. Cotton's father were again alive to do it^e."

In the latter years of the reign of Charles II. the violence of faction burst forth with renovated fury. The discontents of the Nonconformists were daily increasing; while Popery assumed fresh hopes of re-establishing itself by

^d Dr. Plot, in "The Natural History of Staffordshire," p. 48, styles Charles Cotton, of Beresford, Esq. "his worthy, learned, and most ingenious friend." Beresford lies in the county of Stafford, on the banks of the river Dove; and not far from Dovedale; of the beauties of which, see "Aikin's Description of the Country round Manchester," p. 501.

^e "Oh my beloved nymph, fair Dove!

"Princesses of rivers! how I love

"Upon thy flow'ry banks to lie,

"And view thy silver stream

"When gilded by a summer's beam!

"And in it all thy wanton fry

"Playing at liberty:

"And, with my angle upon them,

"The all of treachery

"I ever learnt industriously to try,"

(*The Retirement, by Mr. Cotton, St. vi.*)

by fomenting and encouraging the divisions, that unhappily subsisted among Protestants. A tract, entitled "The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Church," was published in 1675, and attributed to Dr. Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford. Eager to accomplish an union of the Dissenters with the Church of England, and to include them within its pale, this prelate hesitated not to suggest the expediency of proposing several concessions to them, with respect to the rites and ceremonies then in use, and even to comply with their unreasonable demand of abolishing Episcopacy. It may be easily presumed, that these proposals met with no very favourable reception: They were animadverted upon with much spirit and ability, in various publications^f. In the mean time, animosities prevailed without any prospect of their termination. From fanaticism on one side, and from superstition on the other, real danger was apprehended. Those, who exerted themselves in maintaining the legal rights and liberties of the established Church, were denominated 'Whigs.' Most of them were persons eminent for their learning, and very cordially attached to the established Constitution: Others, who opposed the Dissenters, and were thought to be more in fear of a republic than a Popish successor, were distinguished by the name of 'Tories.' At this critical period, Isaac Walton expressed his solicitude for the real welfare of his country, not with a view to embarrass himself in disputation,—for his nature was totally abhorrent from controversy,—but to give an ingenuous and undissembled account of his own faith and practice, as a true son of the Church of England. His modesty precluded him from annexing his name to the treatise, which he composed at this time; and which appeared, first, in 1680, under the title of "Love and Truth^g, in two modest and peaceable

^f Three celebrated tracts on this subject were anonymous. 1. "Animadversions on a pamphlet, entitled 'The Naked Truth,' London, 1676." This was written by Dr. Francis Turner, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; and afterward successively Bishop of Rochester and Ely. 2. "Lex Talionis, or the Author of The Naked Truth stripped naked, 1676." This work is attributed to Mr. Philip Fell, one of the fellows of Eton College. 3. "A Modest Survey of the most Considerable Things, in a Discourse lately published, entitled 'Naked Truth.' In a Letter to a Friend, 1676." Dr. Burnet owned himself to be the author of this last tract.

^g The author, in the choice of the title affixed to his tract, might allude to *Ephes.* iv. 15. "Speaking the Truth in Love."

peaceable Letters, concerning the Distempers of the present Times; written from a quiet and conformable Citizen of London, to two busie and factious Shopkeepers in Coventry, ‘But let none of you suffer as a busie-body in other Men’s Matters^b,’ 1 *Pet.* iv. 15. 1680.” The style, the sentiment, the argumentation, are such as might be expected from a plain man, actuated only by an honest zeal to promote the public peace. And if we consider that it was written by him in the 87th year of his age, a period of life when the faculties of the mind are usually on the decline, it will be scarce possible not to admire the clearness of his judgment, and the unimpaired vigour of his memory. The real purport of this work, which is not altogether unapplicable to more recent times, and which breathes the genuine spirit of benevolence and candour, is happily expressed in the author’s own words to the person, whom he addresses in the second letter.

“This I beseech you to consider seriously: And, good cousin, let me advise you to be one of the thankful and quiet party; for it will bring peace at last¹. Let neither your discourse nor practice be to encourage, or assist in making a schism in that church, in which you were baptized and adopted a Christian; for you may continue in it with safety to your soul; you may in it study sanctification, and practise it to what degree God, by his grace, shall enable you. You may fast as much as you will; be as humble as you will; pray both publicly and privately as much as you will; visit and comfort as many distressed and dejected families as you will; be as liberal and charitable to the poor as you think fit and are able. These, and all other of those undoubted Christian graces, that accompany salvation, you may practise either publicly or privately, as much and as often as you think fit; and yet keep in the communion of

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that

^b This tract is assigned to Mr. Isaac Walton, on the best authority, that of Archbishop Sancroft, who, in a volume of Miscellanies—(*Miscellanea* 14, 2, 34.)—in the library of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, has, with his own hand, marked its title thus: “If. Walton’s 2 letters conc. y^e Distempers of y^e Times, 1680.”

¹ Such kind advice accorded with his usual sentiments.

“VEN. This is my purpose, and so let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord. Let the blessing of St. Peter’s Master be with mine.

“PISC. And upon all that are lovers of virtue, and dare trust in his Providence, and be “quiet, and go an angling. ‘Study to be quiet,’” 1 *Thess.* iv. 11. (*Complete Angler*, P. I. c. 2.)

that church, of which you were made a member by your baptism. These graces you may practise, and not be a busie-body in promoting *schism* and *faction*; as God knows your father's friends, *Hugh Peters* and *John Lilbourn* did, to the ruine of themselves, and many of their disciples. Their turbulent lives and uncomfortable deaths are not, I hope, yet worn out of the memory of many. He that compares them with the holy life and happy death of Mr. *George Herbert*, as it is plainly, and, I hope, truly writ by Mr. *Isaac Walton*, may in it find a perfect pattern for an humble and devout Christian to imitate: And he that considers the restless lives and uncomfortable deaths of the other two (who always lived like the salamander, in the fire of contention), and considers the dismal consequences of schism and sedition, will (if prejudice and a malicious zeal have not so blinded him that he cannot see reason) be so convinced, as to beg of God to give him a meek and quiet spirit; and that he may, by his grace, be prevented from being a busie-body, in what concerns him not."

Such admonitions as these could only proceed from a heart overflowing with goodness,—a heart, as was said concerning that of Sir Henry Wotton, "in which Peace, Patience, and calm Content did inhabit."

His intercourse with learned men, and the frequent and familiar conversations which he held with them, afforded him many opportunities of obtaining several valuable anecdotes relative to the history of his contemporaries. The following literary curiosity is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford:

" ffor y' ffrriends q^{ue} this:

" I only knew Ben Johnson: But my Lord of Winton knew him very
 " well"; and says, he was in the 6°, that is, the upermost fforme in West-
 " minster scole, at which time his father dyed, and his mother married a
 " brickelayer, who made him (much against his will) help him in his trade;
 " but in a short time, his scole-maister, Mr. Camden, got him a better im-
 " ployment, which was to atend or accompany a son of Sir Walter Rauley's,
 " in his travills. Within a short time after their return, they parted (I
 " think not in cole bloud) and with a loue futable to what they had in
 " their

* Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, in the early part of his life, was "one of Ben Jonson's sons."

“ their travilles (not to be comended). And then Ben began to set up for
 “ himfelfe in the trade by which he got his fubfiftance and fame, of which
 “ I need not give any account. He got in time to have a 100l. a yeare
 “ from the king, alfo a penfion from the cittie, and the like from many of the
 “ nobilitie and fome of the gentry, w^{ch} was well pay’d, for love or fere of his
 “ railing in verfe, or profe, or boeth. My lord told me, he told him he was
 “ (in his long retyrement and ficknes, when he faw him, which was often)
 “ much afflickted, that hee had profained the fcripture in his playes, and
 “ lamented it with horror: yet that, at that time of his long retyrement,
 “ his penfion (fo much as came in) was giuen to a woman that gouern’d
 “ him (with whome he liu’d and dyed nere the Abie in Weftminfter;) and
 “ that nether he nor fhe tooke much care for next weike: and wood be
 “ fure not to want wine: of w^{ch} he ufually tooke too much before he went
 “ to bed, if not oftener and foner. My lord tells me, he knowes not, but
 “ thinks he was born in Weftminfter. The queftion may be put to Mr.
 “ Wood very eafily upon what grounds he is pofitive as to his being born
 “ their; he is a friendly man, and will refolve it. So much for braue Ben.
 “ You will not think the reft fo tedyous as I doe this.

“ ffor y^r 2 and 3 q^{ue} of Mr. Hill, and Bilingsley, I do neither know
 “ nor can learn any thing worth teling you.

“ for y^r two remaining q^{ue} of Mr. Warner¹, and Mr. Harriott this:

“ Mr. Warner did long and constantly lodg nere the water-ftares, or
 “ market, in Woolftable. Woolftable is a place not far from Charing-
 “ Croffe, and nerer to Northumberland-houfe. My lord of Winchefter
 “ tells me, he knew him, and that he fayde, he firft found out the cercula-
 “ tion of the blood, and difcouer’d it to Dr. Haruie (who faid that ’twas he
 “ (himfelfe) that found it) for which he is fo memorally famofe. Warner
 “ had a penfion of 40l. a yeare from that Earle of Northumberland that lay
 “ fo long a prifner in the Towre, and fom allowance from Sr. Tho.
 “ Aylefbury, and with whom he ufually fpent his fumer in Windfor Park,
 “ and was welcom, for he was harmles and quiet. His winter was fpent at

¹ Of this great mathematician, fee “ Wood’s Ath. Ox.” Vol. I. col. 461.

" the Woolstale, where he dyed in the time of the parlement of 1640,
 " of which or whome, he was no louer.

" Mr. Herriott^m, my lord tells me, he knew also: That he was a more
 " gentile man than Warner. That he had 120l. a yeare pension from the
 " said Earle, who was a louer of ther studyes) and his lodging in Syon-
 " house, where he thinks, or believes, he dyed.

" This is all I know or can learne for your friend; which I wish may be
 " worth the time and trouble of reading it.

Nouv. 22, 80.

" J. W.

" I forgot to tell, that I heard the sermon preacht for the Lady Danvers,
 " and have it: but thanke your ffriendⁿ."

A life of temperance, sobriety, and cheerfulness, is not seldom rewarded with length of days, with an healthful, honourable, and happy old age°. Isaac Walton retained to the last a constitution unbroken by disease, with the full possession of his mental powers. In a letter to Mr. Cotton from London, April 29, 1676, he writes; " Though I be more than a hundred miles from you, and in the eighty-third year of my age; yet I will forget both, and next month begin a pilgrimage to beg your pardon." He had written " The Life of Dr. Sanderson," when he was in his eighty-fifth year. We find him active with his pen, after this period, at a time when, " silvered o'er with age," he had a just claim to a writ of ease. On the ninetieth anniversary of his birth-day, he declares himself in his will to be
 of

^m Of Mr. Thomas Hariot, or Harriot, see " Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 459. The opinions which have been entertained concerning the infidel principles of Hariot, are sufficiently confuted by the inscription on his monument, erected by his executors, Sir Thomas Aylebury and Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle, in which he is expressly called, " Veritatis Indagator studiosissimus, Dei triniunius Cultor piissimus."

ⁿ This was the sermon preached by Dr. Donne, in the parish church of Chelfey, at the funeral of Lady Danvers, the mother of Mr. George Herbert. See " Walton's Life of Mr. Herbert," p. 331. Annexed to this extract, in Mr. Aubrey's MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum, are these words: " This account I received from Mr. Isaac Walton (who wrote Dr. Donne's life, &c.) Decemb. 2, 1680, he being then eighty-seven years of age. This is his own hand-writing, J. A."

° " Est etiam quieté et puré et eleganter actæ Ætatis placida ac lenis Senectus." *Cic. de Senectute*.—" Non cani, non rugæ, repenté auctoritatem arripere possunt: Sed honesté acta superior ætas fructus capit auctoritatis." *Ib.*

of perfect memory. In the very year in which he died, he prefixed a Preface to a work edited by him: "Thealma and Clearchus, a Pastoral History, in smooth and easy Verse; written long since by John Chalkhill, Esq. an Acquaintant and Friend of Edmund Spenser." Flatman, who is known both as a poet and a painter, hath in such true colours delineated the character of his much-esteemed friend, that it would be injurious not to transcribe the following lines:—

"TO MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. ISAAC WALTON, ON THE PUBLICATION OF THIS POEM."

" Long had the bright Thealma lay obscure:
 " Her beauteous charms, that might the world allure,
 " Lay, like rough diamonds in the mine, unknown,
 " By all the sons of folly trampled on,
 " Till your kind hand unveil'd her lovely face,
 " And gave her vigour to exert her rays.
 " *Happy old man! whose worth all mankind knows,*
 " *Except himself; who charitably shows,*
 " *The ready road to virtue and to praise,*
 " *The road to many long and happy days,*
 " *The noble arts of generous piety,*
 " *And how to compass true felicity;*
 " *Hence did he learn the art of living well;*
 " *The bright Thealma was his oracle:*
 " *Inspir'd by her he knows no anxious cares,*
 " *Through near a century of pleasant years:*
 " *Easy he lives, and cheerful shall he die*
 " *Well spoken of by late posterity,*
 " As long as Spenser's noble flames shall burn,
 " And deep devotions throng about his urn;
 " As long as Chalkhill's venerable name
 " With noble emulation shall inflame
 " Ages to come, and swell the rolls of fame.
 " Your memory shall for ever be secure,
 " And long beyond our short-liv'd praise endure;
 " As Phidias in Minerva's shield did live,
 " And shar'd that immortality, he alone could give."

The classic reader, when he recollects the story of Phidias, will easily acknowledge the propriety of the encomium passed on Mr. Walton, who
 secured

secured immortal fame to himself, while he conferred it upon others. That divine artist, having finished his famous statue of Minerva, with the most consummate exquisiteness of skill, afterward impressed his own image so deeply on her buckler, that it could not be effaced without destroying the whole work.

The beauties of "Thealma and Clearchus," and the character of the author, are not unaptly described in the editor's own language. He intimates in the Preface, that "the reader will find what the title declares, a Pastoral History, in smooth and easy verse; and will in it find many hopes and fears finely painted and feelingly expressed. And he will find the first so often disappointed, when fullest of desire and expectation; and the latter so often, so strangely, and so unexpectedly relieved by an unforeseen Providence, as may beget in him wonder and amazement." He adds, that "the reader must here also meet with passions heightened by easy and fit descriptions of joy and sorrow; and find also such various events and rewards of innocent truth and undissembled honesty, as is like to leave in him (if he be a good-natured reader) more sympathizing and virtuous impressions than ten times so much time spent in impertinent, critical, and needless disputes about religion." Mr. Chalkhill died before he had perfected even the fable of his poem. He was a man generally known in his time, and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour, a gentleman, a scholar, very innocent and prudent; and indeed his whole life was useful, quiet, and virtuous^p. So amiable were the manners, so truly excellent the character of all those, whom Isaac Walton honoured with his regard.

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^p In a volume, entitled "The Muses Library, London, 1737," are inserted extracts from this poem, viz. "The Arcadian Golden Age," "A Description of the Priestesses of Diana," "The Image of Jealousy," "A Description of the Power of the Witch Orandra, together with her Cave."

Dr. Johnson has revived the celebrity of Mr. Chalkhill, by an elegant translation of the following lines:

"Or we sometimes pass an hour

"Under a green willow,

"That

When Leonicensi, one of the most profound scholars in Italy, in the fifteenth century, was asked by what art he had, through a period of ninety years, preserved a sound memory, perfect senses, an upright body, and a vigorous health, he answered, "by innocence, serenity of mind, and temperance." Isaac Walton, having uniformly enjoyed that happy tranquillity, which is the natural concomitant of virtue, came to the grave in a full age, "like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."

"So would I live, such gradual death to find,
 "Like timely fruit, not shaken by the wind,
 "But ripely dropping from the sapless bough;
 "And dying, nothing to myself would owe.
 "Thus, daily changing, with a duller taste
 "Of less'ning joys, I by degrees would waste;
 "Still quitting ground by unperceiv'd decay,
 "And steal myself from life and melt away."

DRYDEN.

He died during the time of the great frost, on the 15th day of December,
 1683,

"That defends us from a shower
 "Making earth our pillow;
 "Where we may
 "Think or pray,
 "Before death
 "Stops our breath.
 "Other Joys
 "Are but toys
 "And to be lamented."

(See WALTON'S COMPLETE ANGLER, P. I. Ch. 16.)

"Nunc per gramina fusi
 "Densâ fronde salicti,
 "Molles ducimus horas.
 "Hic, dum debita morti
 "Paulum Vita moratur,
 "Nunc rescire priora,
 "Nunc instare futuris,
 "Nunc summi Prece sanctâ
 "Patris Numen adire est.
 "Quicquid quaeritur ultra
 "Cæco ducit amore,
 "Vel spe ludit inani
 "Luctus mox paritulum,

(Dr. JOHNSON'S WORKS, Vol. I. p. 190.)

1683, at Winchester, in the prebendal house of Dr. William Hawkins, his son-in-law, whom he loved as his own son. It was his express desire, that his burial might be near the place of his death, privately, and free from any ostentation, or charge. On the stone which covers his remains within the cathedral of that city these lines are yet extant.

“Here resteth the body of
 “MR. ISAAC WALTON,
 “Who died the 15th of Decr. 1683.
 “Alas! he’s gone before,
 “Gone to return no more.
 “Our panting breasts aspire
 “After their aged Sire,
 “Whose well-spent life did last
 “Full ninety years and past.
 “But now he hath begun
 “That which will ne’er be done,
 “Crown’d with eternal bliss,
 “We wish our souls with his.
 “VOTIS MODESTIS SIC FLERUNT LIBERI.”

He survived his wife many years. She died in 1662, and was buried in our Lady’s Chapel, in the Cathedral of Worcester. In the north wall is placed a small oval monument of white marble, on which is the following inscription, written, no doubt, by her affectionate husband.

Ex — — — terris
 D. +
 S. +. M.
 Here lyeth buried so much as
 could dye of ANA the wife of
 IZAAC WALTON,

who was
 a woman of remarkable prudence,
 and of the primitive piety: her great
 and general knowledge being adorn’d
 with such true humility, and blest
 with soe much Christian meeknesse as
 made her worthy of a more memorable
 Monument.

She died (alas that she is dead)
 the 17th of April, 1662, aged 52.
 Study to be like her.

He had one son Isaac, who never married, and a daughter Anne, the wife of Dr. William Hawkins, a Prebendary in the Church of Winchester, and Rector of Droxford in Hampshire. Dr. William Hawkins left a son William, and a daughter Anne. The latter died unmarried. The son, who was a Serjeant at Law, and author of the well-known treatise of "The Pleas of the Crown," lived and died in the Close of Sarum. He published a short account of the life of his great uncle in 1713, and also his works in 1721, under the title of "The Works of the right reverend learned and pious Thomas Ken, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, 4 vol." These works include only Ken's Poetical Compositions, which do not merit any great encomium, though they are written in a strain of real piety and devotion. This William Hawkins had a son and three daughters, the eldest of whom Mrs. Hawes, relict of the Rev. Mr. Hawes, rector of Bemerton, is the only surviving person of that generation^a.

I have omitted to enumerate among the friends of our biographer Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Winchester^r, and Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury.

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^a The following sepulchral inscriptions are in the Cathedral Church of Winchester.

H. S. E.
GULIELMUS HAWKINS
S. T. P.
HUIUS ECCLESIE PREBENDARIUS,
QUI OBIIT JUL. 17.
ANNO DOMINI 1691.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 58.

H. S. E.
ANNA ETIAM IZAAC WALTON FILIA
QUÆ OBIIT SUPER-MEMORATI GULIELMI VIDUA
AUG. 18, 1715.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 67.

^r Mr. Edward Powell, in commendatory Verses, prefixed to "The Complete Angler," has commemorated the friendship which subsisted between Bishop Morley and Mr. Isaac Walton.

"He that conversed with angels such as were
"Oldworth and Fealty, each a shining star

"Shewing

Salisbury. To be esteemed, to be caressed by men of such comprehensive learning and extraordinary abilities is honourable indeed. They were his choicest and most confidential companions. After the Restoration, he and his daughter had apartments constantly reserved for them in the houses of these two prelates. Here he spent his time in that mutual reciprocation of benevolent offices, which constitutes the blessedness of virtuous friendship. He experienced many marks of favour from the Bishop of Winchester, of whose kindness to him he has signified his remembrance in the ring bequeathed at his death, with this expressive motto, "A MITE FOR A MILLION." It was doubtless through his recommendation, that Ken obtained the

"Shewing the way to Bethlehem; each a faint:

"Compar'd to whom our zealots do but paint:

"*He that our pious and learn'd Morley knew,*

"*And from him suck'd wit and devotion too.*

A distinguished trait in the character of this prelate, who was first known to the world as the friend of Lord Falkland, and to whom Mr. Waller owns himself indebted for his taste of the ancient classics, may be discovered from the following narrative. "Being consulted by the mayor of a country corporation, what method he should take effectually to root out the fanatics in the year of his mayoralty; the bishop, now growing old, first preached friendliness to him, by ordering him a glass of Canary, as oft as he started the question in company; and next admonished him, when alone, to let those people live quietly, in many of whom, he was satisfied, there was the true fear of God, and who were not likely to be gained by rigour and severity." See "Kennet's Register," p. 816.

After the Restoration, many divines, who had been educated among the Puritans, and had gone into the notions and scheme of Presbytery, upon mature thoughts, judged it lawful, and even eligible to conform for the honour and interest of the Christian religion, and for the peace and happiness of this church and nation. Among these was Dr. Seth Ward, celebrated for his mathematical studies. Having been appointed President of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1659, he was ejected in 1660: In which year he was admitted Precentor of Exeter, Dean in 1661, and Bishop in 1662. He was translated to the see of Salisbury in 1667, and upon his death, in 1688, was succeeded by Dr. Burnet, who has given a character of him in "The History of his own Times." A few years before his death, he suffered a fatal decay, not only in his body, but in his intellectual faculties. For, to the mortification of all human sufficiency and wisdom, this great master of reason so entirely lost the use of his understanding, as to become an object of compassion, and uneasiness to himself, and a burden to his friends and attendants. See "Dr. Walter Pope's Life of Seth, Bishop of Salisbury."

the patronage of Dr. Morley; who, having appointed him his chaplain, presented him to the rectory of Woodhay, in Hampshire; and then preferred him to the dignity of a Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of Winton.

The worthy son of a worthy father had no cause to complain that his merit was unnoticed, or unrewarded. Mr. Isaac Walton, junior, was educated at Christ Church, in Oxford. Whilst he was Bachelor of Arts, he attended his uncle, Mr. Ken^c, to Rome, where he was present at the jubilee appointed by Pope Clement X. in 1675. On this occasion Ken was wont to say, "That he had great reason to give God thanks for his travels; since, if it were possible, he returned rather more confirmed of the purity of the Protestant religion than he was before." During his residence in Italy, that country, which is justly called the great School of Music and Painting, the rich Repository of the noblest productions of Statuary and Architecture, both ancient and modern, young Mr. Walton indulged and improved his taste for the fine arts^u. On his return to England, he retired to the University of Oxford, to prosecute his studies. Having afterward accepted an invitation from Bishop Ward, to become his domestic chaplain, he was preferred to the rectory of Polshot, near Devizes in Wiltshire, and elected a Canon of Salisbury. He afforded much assistance to Dr. John Walker, when engaged in his "History of the Sufferings of the Clergy," communicating to him a variety of materials for that excellent work. He

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possessed

^c He was not admitted to the degree of D. D. till 1679.

^u "VIATOR. But what have we got here? a rock springing up in the middle of the river.—

"This is one of the oddest sights that ever I saw.

"PISC. Why, Sir, from that pike that you see standing up there distant from the rock, this is called Pike Pool; and young Mr. Isaac Walton was so pleased with it, as to draw it in landscape in black and white, in a black book I have at home, as he has done several prospects of my house also, which I keep for a memorial of his favour, and will shew you when we come up to dinner.

"VIAT. Has young Mr. Isaac Walton been here too?

"PISC. Yes marry has he, Sir, and that again and again too; and in France since, and at Rome, and at Venice, and I can't tell where; but I intend to ask him a great many hard questions, so soon as I can see him, which will be, God willing, next month."—(*Complete Angler*, P. II Ch. 6.)

possessed all the amiable qualities that adorned the character of his father, a calm philanthropy, a genuine piety, an unaffected humility. It was at the house of this his nephew, that Dr. Ken was upon a visit, when a stack of chimnies fell into his bed-chamber, Nov. 27, 1703, without doing him any harm; whilst Dr. Kidder, his immediate successor in the see of Bath and Wells, was unfortunately killed with his lady by a similar accident, during the same storm, in his palace at Wells. Mr. Walton, junior, died in 1716. His remains lie interred at the feet of his friend and patron, Bishop Ward, in the Cathedral of Salisbury^u.

It would be highly improper to ascribe to Mr. Isaac Walton that extent of knowledge, which characterises the scholar: Yet those who are conversant in his writings will probably entertain no doubt of his acquaintance with books^x. His frequent references to ancient and modern history, his season-
able

^u On a Plain flat stone is this inscription:

H. S. E.
ISAACUS WALTON, HUIUS ECCLESIAE.
CANONICUS RESIDENTIARIUS;
PIETATIS NON FUCATÆ,
DOCTRINÆ SANÆ,
MUNIFICENTIÆ, BENEVOLENTIÆ
EXEMPLAR DESIDERANDUM.
PASTORIS BONI ET FIDELIS FUNCTUS OFFICIO PER ANNOS.
38 IN PAROCHIA DE POLSHOT WILTS.
OBIIT VICESIMO NONO DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOMINI 1716,
ÆTATIS 69.

^x Walton, in his "Complete Angler," frequently cites authors that have written only in Latin, as Gefner, Aldrovandus, Rondeletius, and others. The voluminous History of Animals, composed by Gefner, is translated into English by Mr. Edward Topsel. This translation was published in 1658, and as it contained numberless particulars, extracted from the works of various writers concerning frogs, serpents, and caterpillars, it furnished our author with much intelligence. "Pliny's Natural History" was translated by Dr. Philemon Holland. Also there were versions of the tract of Janus Dubravius "de Piscinis et Piscium Naturâ," and of "Lebault's Maison rustique," so often referred to by him in the course of his Work. (See the "Biographical Dictionary, London, 1784.")—In "The Life of Dr. Sanderson," Walton has quoted Thucydides. It must be remembered, that Hobbes printed his English translation of "The History of the Græcian War," in 1628.

able applications of several passages in the most approved writers, his allusions to various branches of general science, these and other circumstances concur in confirming the assertion, that though he did not partake of the benefits of early erudition, yet in maturer age, he enlarged his intellectual acquisitions, so as to render them fully proportionate to his opportunities and abilities. The fruits of his truly commendable industry he has generously consecrated to posterity. Deprived of the advantage of a learned education, he hath with great fidelity preserved the memory of those, who were "by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions, honoured in their generations; and the glory of their times," each of whom, in his edifying pages, "being dead yet speaketh." He may be literally said "to have laboured not for himself only, but for all those that seek wisdom." How interesting and affecting are many of his narratives and descriptions! The vision of ghastly horror that presented itself to Dr. Donne, at the time of his short residence in Paris,—the pleasant messages which Sir Henry Wotton and the good-natured priest exchanged with each other in a church at Rome, during the time of vespers,—the domestic incidents which excited the tender commiseration of Mr. Edwin Sandys and Mr. George Cranmer, while they visited their venerable tutor at his country parsonage of Drayton Beauchamp*,—the affectionate and patient condescension of Mr. George Herbert, compassionating the distresses of the poor woman of Bemerton,—the interview of Dr. Sanderfon and Mr. Isaac Walton accidentally meeting each other in the streets of London,—these and numberless other similar passages will always be read with reiterated pleasure.

We shall indeed be disappointed, if we expect to find in the following volume the brilliancy of wit, the elaborate correctness of style, or the ascetic graces and ornaments of fine composition. But that pleasing simplicity of sentiment, that plain and unaffected language, and, may I add, that

* A circumstance mentioned in this narrative, reminds me of the description of a domestic picture, in "The Life of Melancthon," who was seen by one of his friends, "with one hand rocking the cradle of his child, with the other holding a book."

that natural eloquence², which pervades the whole, richly compensates the want of elegance, and rhetorical embellishment³. Truth is never displayed to us in more grateful colours, than when she appears, not in a garish attire, but in her own native garb, without artifice, without pomp. In that garb Isaac Walton has arrayed her. Deeply impressed with the excellence of those exemplary characters which he endeavours to portray, he speaks no other language than that of the heart, and thus imparts to the reader his own undisguised sentiments, so friendly to piety and virtue. Assuredly, no pleasure can be placed in competition with that, which results from the view of men sedulously adjusting their actions with integrity and honour. To accompany them, as it were, along the path of life, to join in their conversation, to observe their demeanour in various situations, to contemplate their acts of charity and beneficence, to attend them into their closets, to behold their ardour of piety and devotion; in short, to establish, as it were, a friendship and familiarity with them,—this doubtless, must be pronounced an happy anticipation of that holy intercourse, which will, I trust, subsist between beatified spirits in another and a better state.

Those parts of this volume are more peculiarly adapted to afford satisfaction, improvement, and consolation, in which is related the behaviour of these good men at the hour of death. Here we find ourselves personally and intimately interested. “A battle or a triumph,” says Mr. Addison, “are conjunctures, in which not one man in a million is likely to be engaged;

² This quality is, I trust, not improperly applied to Mr. Isaac Walton’s writings. “True eloquence,” says Milton, “I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of *truth*: And that, whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good *things*, and with the dearest *charity* to infuse the knowledge of them into others; when such a man would speak, his words, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places.”

³ I indulge myself in quoting only one passage. Having described the poignancy of Dr. Donne’s grief on the death of his wife, the author pathetically concludes. “Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night, and began the weary day in lamentations.” The repetition is exquisitely beautiful. It reminds me of Orpheus lamenting over Eurydice, in Virgil’s *Georgics*:

“Te veniente Die, te decedente canebat.”

gaged; but when we see a person at the point of death, we cannot forbear being attentive to every thing he says or does; because we are sure, that some time or other, we shall ourselves be in the same melancholy circumstances. The general, the statesman, or the philosopher, are perhaps characters which we may never act in; but the dying man is one whom, sooner or later, we shall certainly resemble." Thus while these instructive pages teach us how to live, they impart a lesson equally useful and momentous—how to die^b. When I contrast the death-bed scenes, which our author has described, with that which is exhibited to us in the last illness of a modern philosopher, who at that awful period had no source of consolation but what he derived from reading Lucian and other books of amusement, discoursing cheerfully with his friends on the trifling topics of common conversation, playing at his favourite game of whist, and indulging his pleasantries on the fabulous history of "Charon and his Boat,"—without one single act of devotion, without any expression of penitential sorrow, of hope, or confidence in the goodness of God, or in the merits of a Redeemer;—when this contrast, I say, is presented to my view, it is impossible not to adopt the language of the prophet, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his^c."

Is it necessary to add, that we are here presented with two pleasing portraits of female excellence, in the mother and in the wife of Mr. George Herbert? In the first were united all the personal and mental accomplishments of her sex: The enlightened piety of the latter, her native humility, her truly Christian charity, exhibit her as a perfect model of every thing good and praise-worthy, while her marriage with Mr. Herbert, though attended with some unusual circumstances, proves incontestably, that an union, originating from "good sense, from inclination, and from an equality

^b Dr. Thomas Townson, the late Archdeacon of Richmond, read "Isaac Walton's Lives" during his last illness, with a view, no doubt, to trim his lamp, and prepare for his Lord, by comparing his conduct with the examples of those meek and holy men, described by the pleasing and faithful biographer. He also read, and, assuredly, with similar intentions, Mr. Herbert's "Country Parson."—Of this pious and learned man, the ornament of the eighteenth century, see "Churton's Memoirs of Dr. Townson."

^c See "The Life of David Hume, Esq." p. 43, 46.

equality of age, of dignity, and of fortune," can seldom fail of being attended with happiness.

It is said of Socrates, that all who knew him, loved him: And that if any did not love him, it was because they did not know him. May we not affirm the same of that worthy person, who is the subject of this memoir? Such was the sweetness of his temper, so affectionate was the regard which his friends professed for him, that, in their epistolary correspondence, though they were far superior to him in rank and condition of life, they usually addressed him in the language of tenderness and soothing endearment, styling him, "Good Mr. Walton;" "Honest Isaac;" "Worthy Friend;" "Dear Brother;" "Most Ingenious Friend." No one better deserved these kind appellations. Let it always be recorded to his honour, that he *never retracted any promise, when made in favour even of his meanest friend*^d. Neal, in his "History of the Puritans," introduces an erroneous quotation from "Walton's Life of Mr. Hooker." Dr. Warburton, in his notes on that history (*Warburton's Works, Vol. VII. p. 895,*) commenting upon this quotation, speaks of "the quaint trash of a fantastical life-writer." Is it possible to suppose that an epithet, more adapted to the asperity of fastidious censure, than to the cool and deliberate judgment of candid and equitable criticism, should be justly applied to a man of real merit, who strenuously exerted himself in promoting the cause of religion, as well by his writings as by his exemplary conduct.

The corporation of Stafford have publicly pronounced him their worthy and generous benefactor. Of his singular munificence to the poor inhabitants of this his native town, we find several instances in his life-time: And, at his death, he consigned some bequests of considerable value to be appropriated to their use^e.

In

^d See "Mr. Cotton's Epistle Dedicatory to his most worthy Father and Friend, Mr. Isaac Walton the elder," prefixed to the Second Part of "The Complete Angler."

^e It appears from a table fixed in the Church of St. Mary's, in the borough of Stafford, that Mr. Isaac Walton gave, in his life-time, a garden of eight shillings a year, to buy coals for the poor yearly about Christmas; and that he also gave twenty-two pounds, to build a stone-wall around St. Chad's churchyard in the said borough; and did also set forth nine boys apprentices, bestowing five pounds on each.

At

In an ancient inscription yet extant, it is said of a Roman Citizen, that he knew not how to speak injuriously—*NESCIVIT MALEDICERE*. We may observe of Isaac Walton, that he was ignorant how to write of any man with acrimony and harshness. This liberality of disposition will ever recommend him to his readers. Whatever are the religious sentiments of the persons, whom he introduces to our notice, how widely soever they differ from his own; we discover not, in his remarks, the petulance of indiscriminate reproach, or the malignancy of rude invective. The mild spirit of moderation breathes almost in every page. I can only lament one instance of severity, for which however several pleas of extenuation might readily be admitted.

He is known to have acquired a relish for the fine arts. Of paintings and prints he had formed a small, but valuable collection^f. And we may presume, that he had an attachment to and a knowledge of music. His affection for sacred music^g may be inferred from that animated, I had al-
f. most

At his death, he bequeathed one messuage or tenement, at Shalford in the county of Stafford, with all the land thereto belonging, of the clear yearly value of twenty pounds ten shillings and sixpence; of which, ten pounds are appropriated, every year, to the putting out two boys, sons of honest and poor parents, to be apprentices to tradesmen, or handicraftsmen; and five pounds to some maid-servant, that hath attained the age of twenty-one years (not less), and dwelt long in one service; or to some honest poor man's daughter, that hath attained to that age, to be paid her at, or on the day of her marriage. What money or rent shall remain undisposed of, he directs to be employed in the purchase of coals, for some poor people, that shall need them: the said coals to be distributed in *the last week of January, or every first week in February; because he considers that time to be the hardest, and most pinching time.*

^f In his last will, he leaves to his son "all his books, not yet given, at Farnham Castell, and a *deske of prints and pictures*; also a cabinet, in which are some little things, that he will value, though of no great worth."

^g "He that at midnight, when the very labourer sleeps securely, should hear, as I have often done, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of the nightingale's voice, might well be lifted above earth, and say, Lord, what music hast thou provided for the saints in heaven, when thou affordest bad men such music upon earth?"—*(Complete Angler, P. I. Ch. I.)*

most said, that enraptured language which he adopts, whenever the subject occurs to him. It will be easily recollected, that Ken, his brother-in-law, whose morning, evening, and midnight hymns, endear his memory to the devout Christian, began the duties of each day with sacred melody. And that between men perfectly congenial in their sentiments and habits of virtue, a similarity of disposition in this instance should prevail, is far from being an unreasonable suggestion. That he had an inclination to poetry, we may conclude from his early intimacy with Michael Drayton, "the Golden-mouthed Poet;" a man of an amiable disposition, of mild and modest manners, whose poems are much less read than they deserve to be. It is needless to remark that on the first publication of a work it was usual for the friends of the author to prefix to it recommendatory verses. Isaac Walton, whose circle of friends was very extensive indeed, often contributed his share of encomium on these occasions. To his productions of this kind no other commendations can be allowed, than that they were sincere memorials of his grateful and tender regard. It must however be added, that he never debased his talents by offering the incense of Adulation, at the shrine of Infamy and Guilt. The persons, whom he favoured with these marks of his attention, were not undeserving of praise. Such, for instance, was William Cartwright, who, though he died in the thirtieth year of his age, was the boast and ornament of the University of Oxford, as a divine, a philosopher, and a poet^b. Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, declared him to be, "the utmost man can come to;" and Ben Jonson was wont to say of him, "My son Cartwright writes all like a man." And here an opportunity presents itself of ascertaining the author of "The Synagogue, or the Shadow of the Temple," a collection of sacred poems usually annexed to Mr. George Herbert's "Temple." Mr. Walton has addressed some encomiastic lines to him, as his friend; and in "The Complete Angler," having inserted from that collection, a little poem, entitled "The Book of Common Prayer," he expressly assigns it, and of course the whole work

^b See "Comedies, Tragi-comedies, with other Poems, by William Cartwright, late Student of Christ Church in Oxford, and Proctor of the University. London, 1651."

work, to a reverend and learned divine, Mr. Christopher Harvie, *that professes to imitate Mr. Herbert, and hath indeed done so most excellently*; and of whom he adds pleasantly, “you will like him the better, because he is a “friend of mine, and I am sure no enemy to angling¹.”

Faithfully attached to the Church of England, he entertained the highest veneration for her discipline and doctrines. He had not been an inattentive spectator of the rapid progress of the sectaries, hastening from one degree of injustice to another, until an universal anarchy consummated the ruin of our ecclesiastical constitution. In his Last Will he has announced an ingenuous and decided avowal of his religious principles, with a design, as it has been conjectured, to prevent any suspicions that might arise of his inclination to Popery, from his very long and very true friendship with some of the Roman Communion². But a full and explicit declaration of his Christian faith, and the motives which enforced his serious and regular attendance upon the service of that Church in which he was educated, are delivered, with great propriety and good sense, in his own words. For thus he writes in a letter to one of his friends. “I go so constantly to the

f 2

“ church

¹ See “The Complete Angler,” P. LXVIII. and p. 123, edit of 1773. We find the name of Christopher Harvie subscribed to “Verses addressed to the Reader of the Complete Angler.” He is probably the same person, who was the author of “The Right Rebel. London, 1661,” 8vo.—a treatise, discovering the true use of the name, by the nature of rebellion; with the properties and practices of rebels, applicable to all, both old and new fanaticks: by Christopher Harvey, Vicar of Clifton in Warwickshire. He was a minister’s son, in Cheshire, and was educated in Braze-nose College, Oxford. See “Wood’s Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 268.

² A steady friendship subsisted between Mr. Walton and Mr. James Shirley, who, having been ordained a clergyman of the established Church, renounced his religion, for that of the Church of Rome. He is described by Phillips, in his “Theatrum Poetarum,” printed at London, in 1675, as “a just pretender to more than the meanest place among the English poets, but most especially for dramatic poesy; in which he hath written both very much, and, for the most part, with that felicity, that by some he is accounted little inferior to Fletcher himself.” See “The Life of Mr. Herbert,” p. 390.

“ church service to adore and worship my God, who hath made me of
 “ nothing, and preserved me from being worse than nothing. And this
 “ worship and adoration I do pay him inwardly in my soul, and testifie it
 “ outwardly by my behaviour; as namely, by my adoration, in my for-
 “ bearing to cover my head in that place dedicated to God, and only to his
 “ service; and also, by standing up at profession of the Creed, which con-
 “ tains the severall articles that I and all true Christians profess and believe;
 “ and also my standing up at giving glory *to the Father, to the Son, and to*
 “ *the Holy Ghost*, and confessing them to be three persons, and but one
 “ God.

“ And, secondly, I go to church to praise my God for my creation and
 “ redemption; and for his many deliverances of me from the many dan-
 “ gers of my body, and more especially of my soul, in sending me redemp-
 “ tion by the death of his Son, my Saviour; and for the constant assist-
 “ ance of his holy spirit: a part of which praise I perform frequently in
 “ the Psalms, which are daily read in the public congregation.

“ And, thirdly, I go to church publicly to confess and bewail my sins,
 “ and to beg pardon for them, for his merits who died to reconcile me and
 “ all mankind unto God, who is both his and my father; and, as for the
 “ words in which I beg this mercy, they be the Letany and Collects of
 “ the Church, composed by those learned and devout men, whom you and
 “ I have trusted to tell us which is and which is not the written word of
 “ God; and trusted also to translate those scriptures into English. And, in
 “ these Collects, you may note, that I pray *absolutely* for pardon of sin,
 “ and for grace to believe and serve God: But I pray for *health*, and *peace*,
 “ and *plenty*, *conditionally*; even so far as may tend to his glory, and the
 “ good of my soul, and not further. And this confessing my sins, and
 “ begging mercy and pardon for them, I do in my adoring my God, and
 “ by the humble posture of kneeling on my knees before him: And, in
 “ this manner, and by reverend sitting to hear some chosen parts of God’s
 “ word read in the public assembly, I spend one hour of the Lord’s day
 “ every forenoon, and half so much time every evening. And since this
 “ uniform and devout custom of joyning together in *public confession*, and
 “ *praise*

“*praise*, and *adoration* of God, and in one manner, hath been neglected; “the power of Christianity and humble piety is so much decayed, that it “ought not to be thought on but with sorrow and lamentation; and I “think, especially by the Nonconformists.”

The reasons which he has assigned for his uninterrupted attention to the discharge of another duty will afford satisfaction to every candid reader. “Now for preaching, I praise God, I understand my duty both to him and “my neighbour the better, by hearing of sermons. And though I be defective in the performance of both (for which I beseech Almighty God to “pardon me), yet I had been a much worse Christian, if I had not frequented the blessed ordinance of preaching; which has convinced me of “my many sins past, and begot such terrors of conscience, as have begot in “me holy resolutions. This benefit, and many other like benefits, I and “other Christians have had by preaching: And God forbid that we should “ever use it so, or so provoke him by our other sins as to withdraw this “blessed ordinance from us, or turn it into a curse, by preaching *heresie* and “*schism*; which too many have done in the late time of rebellion, and indeed “now do in many conventicles; and their auditors think such preaching is “serving God, when God knows it is contrary.” Such were the rational grounds, on which he founded his faith and practice.

No excuse is pleaded for again noticing the opportunities of improvement, which he experienced from his appropriated intimacy with the most eminent divines of the Church of England. Genuine friendship exists but among the virtuous: A friend is emphatically styled “the medicine of “life;” the sovereign remedy that softens the pangs of sorrow, and alleviates the anguish of the heart. We cannot therefore sufficiently felicitate the condition of Isaac Walton, who imbibed the very spirit of friendship; and that with men renowned for their wisdom and learning; for the sanctity of their manners, and the un sullied purity of their lives. “If,” to use the words of one of his biographers, “we can entertain a doubt that Walton “was one of the happiest of men, we shew ourselves ignorant of the nature “of that felicity; to which it is possible even in this life for virtuous and “good men, with the blessing of God, to arrive¹.”

The

¹ “Biographical Dictionary.” Ed. 1784.

The features of the countenance often enable us to form a judgment, not very fallible, of the disposition of the mind. In few portraits can this discovery be more successfully pursued than in that of Isaac Walton. Lavater, the acute master of physiognomy, would, I think, instantly acknowledge in it the decisive traits of the original:—Mild complaisance, forbearance, mature consideration, calm activity, peace, sound understanding, power of thought, discerning attention, and secretly active friendship. Happy in his unblemished integrity, happy in the approbation and esteem of others, he inwraps himself in his own virtue. The exultation of a good conscience eminently shines forth in the looks of this venerable person.

“CANDIDA SEMPER
“GAUDIA, ET IN VULTU CURARUM IGNARA VOLUPTAS.”

Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, used this motto, “SERVE GOD, AND BE CHEERFUL.” Our Biographer seems to have adhered to this golden maxim, during the whole tenor of his life. His innocence, and the inoffensive plainness of his manners, his love of truth, his piety, and the unbiaſſed rectitude of his conduct diffused over his mind a serenity and complacency, which never forsook him. Let no one, however elevated in rank or station, however accomplished with learning, or exalted in genius, esteem himself undervalued, when it shall be pronounced concerning him, that his religious and moral qualities are placed in the balance, or compared with those of ISAAC WALTON.

ERRATA.

<i>Page</i>	<i>21,</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>32,—</i>	<i>Angelicanzæ, read Anglicanzæ.</i>
—	30,	—	35,—	<i>motre, read matre.</i>
—	38,	—	14,—	<i>1608, read 1648.</i>
—	53,	—	16,—	<i>meditated, read mediated.</i>
—	96,	—	8,—	<i>restored to health, but he, read restored to health : " But he.</i>
—	121,	—	28,—	<i>Sir Henry Wotton, read Sir Edward Wotton.</i>
—	132,	—	20,—	<i>Angli, read Anglia.</i>
—	146,	—	27,—	<i>July 25, read July 27.</i>
—	—	—	—	<i>July 27, read July 31.</i>
—	147,	—	25,—	<i>KIII. read XIII.</i>
—	176,	—	32,—	<i>Dr. Marter, read Dr. Martin Luther.</i>
—	181,	—	20,—	<i>Odvardo, read Odoardo.</i>
—	—	—	21,—	<i>lango, read lungo.</i>
—	—	—	22,—	<i>fa, read fu.</i>

WALTON'S LIVES.

REVISED EDITION

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND

FATHER IN GOD, GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, AND PRELATE OF THE
MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER^a.

MY LORD,

I DID some years past, present you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man, to whose memory princes, and the most learned of this nation, have paid a reverence at the mention of his name.---And now, with Mr. Hooker's, I present you also the life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert; and, with his, the life of Dr. Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted.---The two first were written under your roof; for which

^a Dr. George Morley, distinguished by his unshaken loyalty and attachment to Charles I. was, at the Restoration, first made Dean of Christ-church, and then Bishop of Worcester. In 1662 he was translated to the see of Winchester. Though nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, he never did them the honour, nor himself the injury, to sit among them. During his absence from his native country, he endeared himself to several learned foreigners, particularly to Andrew Rivettus, Heinsius, Salmasius, and Bochart. He constantly attended the young exiled King; but not being permitted to follow him into Scotland, he retired to Antwerp, where for about three or four years he read the service of the Church of England twice every day, catechized once a week, and administered the communion once a month to all the English in the town who could come to it, regularly and strictly observing all the parochial duties of a clergyman, as he did afterwards at Breda for four years together. Walker, in his History of the Sufferings of the Clergy, having quoted Anthony Wood's character of this prelate, concludes with this exclamation: "O that but a single portion of his spirit might always rest on the established clergy!" He died in 1684.

(*Le Neve, Fuller, and Wood.*)

which reason, if they were worth it, you might justly challenge a Dedication: And indeed, so you might of Dr. Donne's and Sir Henry Wotton's; because, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been by acquired learning or study, but by the advantage of forty years friendship, and thereby with hearing and discoursing with your Lordship, that hath enabled me to make the relation of these Lives passable (if they prove so) in an eloquent and captious age.

And indeed, my Lord, though these relations be well-meant sacrifices to the memory of these worthy men, yet I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for superscribing your name to them, and desire all that know your Lordship, to apprehend this not as a Dedication (at least by which you receive any addition of honour), but rather as an humble, and a more public acknowledgment of your long continued, and your now daily favours to,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate

And most humble servant,

IZAAK WALTON.

TO THE READER.

THOUGH the several introductions to these several lives have partly declared the reasons how, and why I undertook them, yet since they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted, and the four are now become one book ^b, I desire leave to inform you that shall become my reader, that when I sometime look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without some little wonder at myself, that I am come to be publicly in print ^c. And though I have in those introductions declared some of the accidental reasons that occasioned me to be so, yet let me add this to what is there said, that by my undertaking to collect some notes for Sir Henry Wotton's writing the Life of Dr. Donne^d, and by Sir Henry's dying before he performed it, I became like those men that enter easily into a law-suit or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet,

^b He had not then written the life of Bishop Sanderfon.

^c In the preceding Epistle Dedicatory, our author modestly resigns all claim to "acquired learning or study."

^d Sir Henry Wotton addressed the following letter to Mr. Isaac Walton, who had requested him to perform his promise of writing the life of Dr. Donne.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"I am not able to yield any reason, no not so much as may satisfy myself, why a most ingenuous letter of yours hath lain so long by me (as it were in lavender) without an answer, save this only, the pleasure I have taken in your style and conceptions, together with a meditation of the subject you propound, may seem to have cast me into a gentle slumber. But, being now awaked, I do herein return you most hearty thanks for the kind prosecution of your first motion, touching a just office due to the memory of our ever-memorable friend; to whose good fame, though it be needless to add any thing (and, my age considered, almost hopeless from my pen), yet I will endeavour to perform my promise, if it
"were

quiet, when they desire it.—And really, after such a manner, I became engaged into a necessity of writing the life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions; and that begot a like necessity of writing the life of his and my ever honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ these two lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others, by any new engagement in this kind; for I thought I knew my unfitness. But, about that time, Dr. Gauden* (then Lord Bishop of Exeter) published the life of Mr. Richard Hooker (so he called it), with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him
and

“were but even for this cause, that in saying somewhat of the life of so deserving a man, I
“may perchance over-live mine own.

“That which you add of Dr. King (now made Dean of Rochester, and by that translated
“into my native soil) is a great spur unto me; with whom I hope shortly to confer about
“it in my passage towards Boughton Malherb (which was my genial air), and invite him to
“a friendship with that family, where his predecessor was familiarly acquainted. I shall
“write to you at large by the next messenger (being at present a little in business), and then
“I shall set down certain general heads, wherein I desire information by your loving dili-
“gence, hoping shortly to have your own ever-welcome company in this approaching time
“of the *fly* and the *cork*. And so I rest your very hearty poor friend to serve you.

“H. WOTTON.”

(*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 360. edit. 3.)

* Dr. John Gauden, born at Mayland in Essex, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was Dean of Bocking, and Master of the Temple, in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. In 1660 he was made Bishop of Exeter, and from thence promoted to Worcester in 1662, in which year he died, aged 57 years. “Cum Gilbertus Cantuariensis Majestatem ejus certiores fecisset Gaudenum vitam functum esse, “non dubito” regebat Rex, “quin facile erit reperire
“hominem eo longe digniorem, qui in ejus locum succedat.”

(*Vita Johannis Barwick*, p. 251.)

Whatever credit may be due to the animadversions of several writers on the conduct of Dr. Gauden, it will be only an act of justice to intimate, that the editor of the works of Mr. Richard Hooker, and the author of the *Memoirs of the Life of Bishop Brownrigg*, and of many other very valuable writings, deserves much of posterity. His way of preaching is said to have been most admirable and edifying. The King, when he nominated him to the see of Exeter, bore this testimony to his merit, by observing, “That he upon all occasions had
“taken

and his books, that discoursing of them with his Grace Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the Bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books than that bishop had done; and I know I have done so. And let me tell the reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it; but when he twice enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his, judgment, and submitted to his commands; concluding, that if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobedience, and indeed of ingratitude, for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third life.

For the life of that great example of holiness, Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself, but yet not without some respect to posterity: For though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us: For I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition; especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader, that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public; but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing: so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon

“taken worthy pains in the pulpit and at the press to rescue his Majesty and the church of
 “England from all the mistakes and heterodox opinions of several and different factions;
 “as also from the sacrilegious hands of those false brethren, whose scandalous conversation
 “was consummate in devouring church-lands, and then with impudence to make sacrilege
 “lawful.” (*Wood's Ath. Ox. vol. ii. col. 208.*)—It must be owned, that he was one of the
 Assembly of Divines in 1643, and that he took the covenant; to which, however, he made
 some scruples and objections, so that his name was soon struck out of the list. He abandoned
 the cause of the Parliament as soon as they relinquished their first avowed principles
 of reforming only, instead of extirpating monarchy and episcopacy.

upon me, but the printer; and yet I hope none so great, as may not by this confession purchase pardon from a good-natured reader.

And now I wish, that as that learned Jew, Josephus, and others, so these men had also writ their own lives; but since it is not the fashion of these times, I wish their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I desire this the more, because it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to those that shall live and succeed us, and would to them prove both a content and satisfaction. For when the next age shall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reason which that excellent casuist Dr. Sanderson (the late Bishop of Lincoln) hath demonstrated in his sermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know, that this good man was as remarkable for the meekness and innocence of his life, as for his great and useful learning; and indeed as remarkable for his fortitude in his long and patient suffering (under them that then called themselves the godly party) for that doctrine which he had preached and printed in the happy days of the nation and the church's peace? And who would not be content to have the like account of Dr. Field^f, that great schoolman, and others of noted learning? And though I cannot hope that my example or reason can persuade to this undertaking, yet I please myself, that I shall conclude my preface with wishing that it were so.

J. W.

^f Dr. Richard Field, Chaplain to James I. and Dean of Gloucester, died Nov. 21, 1616,—the friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and one of the most learned men of his age. He was the author of a work entitled, “Of the Church, fol. 1610.”—James I. when he first heard him preach, said, “This is a *Field* for God to dwell in.”—With the same allusion Fuller calls him that learned divine, “whose memory smelleth like a *Field* that the Lord hath blessed.”—Anthony Wood mentions a manuscript, written by Nathaniel Field, Rector of Stourton, in Wiltshire, containing “some short Memorials concerning the Life of that Rev. Divine, Dr. Richard Field, Prebendary of Windsor,” &c. The feature which peculiarly marked his disposition, was an aversion to those disputes on the Arminian points, which then began to disturb the peace of the church, and from which he dreaded the most unhappy consequences. It was his ambition to conciliate, not to irritate.

TO MY OLD AND MOST WORTHY FRIEND,

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

ON HIS

LIFE OF DOCTOR DONNE, &c.

WHEN, to a Nation's loss, the virtuous die,
There's justly due from ev'ry hand and eye
That can, or write, or weep, an elegy.

Which though it be the poorest, cheapest way,
The debt we owe, great merits to defray,
Yet it is almost all that most men pay.

And these are monuments of so short date,
That with their birth they oft receive their fate;
Dying with those whom they would celebrate.

And though to verse great reverence is due,
Yet what most poets write proves so untrue,
It renders truth in verse suspected too.

Something more sacred then, and more entire
The memories of virtuous men require,
Then what may with their funeral-torch expire:

This history can give; to which alone
The privilege to mate oblivion
Is granted, when deny'd to brass and stone:

G

Wherein,

VERSES TO MR. WALTON.

Wherein, my friend, you have a hand so sure,
Your truths so candid are, your style so pure,
That what you write may Envy's search endure.

Your pen, disdaining to be brib'd or prest,
Flows without vanity, or interest;
A virtue with which few good pens are blest.

How happy was my father then^a! to see
Those men he lov'd, by him he lov'd, to be
Rescu'd from frailties and mortality.

Wotton and Donne, to whom his soul was knit,
Those twins of virtue, eloquence, and wit,
He saw in Fame's eternal annals writ.

Where one has fortunately found a place,
More faithful to him than his marble was^b,
Which eating age^c, nor fire shall e'er deface.

A monument that, as it has, shall last
And prove a monument to that defac'd;
Itself, but with the world, not to be raz'd.

And even in their flow'ry characters,
My father's grave, part of your friendship shares;
For you have honour'd his in strewing theirs.

Thus

^a The character of Mr. Charles Cotton, the father of Charles Cotton the poet, is most beautifully delineated by the noble historian.

(*Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*, fol. 1759. p. 16.)

^b His monument in St. Paul's church before the late dreadful fire, 1665.

^c Jamq; opus exegi, quod, nec Jovis Ira, nec Ignis,
Nec poterit Ferrum, nec ~~edax~~ abolere *Vetustas*.

OVID.

Thus by an office, though particular,
Virtue's whole common-weal obliged are;
For in a virtuous act all good men share.

And by this act, the world is taught to know,
That the true friendship we to merit owe,
Is not discharg'd by compliment and show.

But yours is friendship of so pure a kind,
From all mean ends and interest so refin'd,
It ought to be a pattern to mankind;.

For, whereas most men's friendships here beneath,
Do perish with their friends' expiring breath,
Yours proves a friendship living after death;

By which the generous Wotton, reverend Donne,
Soft Herbert, and the church's champion
Hooker, are rescu'd from oblivion.

For though they each of them his time so spent,
As rais'd unto himself a monument,
With which Ambition might rest well content;

Yet their great works, though they can never die,
And are in truth superlatively high,
Are no just scale to take their virtues by::

Because they shew not how th' Almighty's grace,
By various and more admirable ways,
Brought them to be the organs of his praise.

But what their humble modesty would hide,
And was by any other means deny'd,
Is by your love and diligence supply'd.

VERSES TO MR. WALTON.

Wotton,—a nobler soul was never bred!—
 You, by your narrative's most even thread,
 Through all his labyrinths of life have led;

Through his degrees of honour and of arts,
 Brought him secure from Envy's venom'd darts,
 Which are still levell'd at the greatest parts;

Through all th' employments of his wit and spirit,
 Whose great effects these kingdoms still inherit,
 The trials then, new trophies of his merit;

Nay, through disgrace, which oft the worthiest have,
 Thro' all state-tempests, thro' each wind and wave,
 And laid him in an honourable grave.

And yours, and the whole world's beloved Donne,
 When he a long and wild career had run,
 To the meridian of his glorious sun;

And being then an object of much ruth,
 Led on by vanities, error, and youth,
 Was long ere he did find the way to truth:

By the same clew, after his youthful fwing,
 To serve at his God's altar here you bring,
 Where an once-wanton muse doth anthems sing.

And though by God's most powerful grace alone
 His heart was settled in Religion,
 Yet 'tis by you we know how it was done;

And know, that having crucify'd vanities
 And fixt his hope, he clos'd up his own eyes,
 And then your friend a faint and preacher dies.

The meek and learned Hooker too, almost
I'the Church's ruins over-whelm'd and lost,
Is by your pen recover'd from his dust.

And Herbert ;—he, whose education,
Manners, and parts, by high applauses blown,
Was deeply tainted with Ambition,

And fitted for a court, made that his aim ;
At last, without regard to birth or name,
For a poor country-cure does all disclaim ;

Where, with a soul compos'd of harmonies,
Like a sweet swan, he warbles as he dies
His Maker's praise, and his own obsequies.

All this you tell us, with so good success,
That our oblig'd posterity shall profess,
T'have been your friend, was a great happiness.

And now ! when many worthier would be proud
T'appear before you, if they were allow'd,
I take up room enough to serve a crowd :

Where to commend what you have choicely writ,
Both my poor testimony and my wit
Are equally invalid and unfit :

Yet this, and much more, is most justly due,
Were what I write as elegant as true,
To the best friend I now or ever knew.

But, my dear friend, 'tis so, that you and I,
By a condition of mortality,
With all this great, and more proud world, must die :

In which estate I ask no more of Fame,
Nor other monument of Honour claim,
Then that of your true friend, t'advance my name.

And if your many merits shall have bred
An abler pen to write your life when dead,
I think an honefter cannot be read.

JAN. 17, 1672.

CHARLES COTTON^{*}.

* The author of "Scarronides, or Virgile Travestie," and of other poems. He composed the second part of "The Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation;" being a continuation of Isaac Walton's tract on the same subject. In this work he thus speaks of our Biographer: "I have the happiness to know his person, and to be intimately acquainted with him, and in him to know the worthiest man, and to enjoy the best and truest friend any man ever had: Nay, I shall yet acquaint you further, that he gives me leave to call him Father, and I hope is not ashamed to own me for his adopted Son."

COPY OF A LETTER

WRIT TO

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

BY

DOCTOR KING, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER¹.

HONEST IZAAK,

THOUGH a familiarity of more than forty years continuance, and the constant experience of your love, even in the worst of the late sad times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet, I must confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a public spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker;
of

¹ Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, son of Dr. John King, Bishop of London, and great nephew of Robert King the first Bishop of Oxford, and the last Abbot of Osney, was the author of a new metrical translation of the Psalms, (of which he has given a modest account in a letter to Archbishop Usher, dated Oct. 30, 1651. *Usher's Letters*, p. 567,) and also of poems, elegies, paradoxes, sonnets, divers Latin and Greek poems, with some sermons and religious tracts. Whilst he was Dean of Rochester, he was suspected of favouring the Puritans: The king, desirous of gratifying that party, made him Bishop of Chichester: But during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, he suffered with his brethren, and was compelled to go abroad. He returned at the Restoration, and surviving that event nine years, died Oct. 1, 1669. He was advanced to a bishopric, when Episcopacy was in a sinking state; "It being conceived," says Jacob, "the most effectual method for the restitution of that order, to prefer persons not only of unblameable lives, and eminent for their learning, but such as were generally beloved by all disinterested people. The king's choice amongst these was very happy in this great divine, who lived a most religious life, and did not die till after his order was restored."

of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books; but shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing to write the Lives of three such persons, as posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen: of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death, delivered into my hands those excellent Sermons of his, now made public; professing before Dr. Winniff^m, Dr. Monfordⁿ, and, I think, yourself then present at his bed-side, that it was by my restless importunity, that he had prepared them for the press; together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his sermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How these
were

^m Dr. Thomas Winniff, successively Dean of Gloucester and of St. Paul's, was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1641, on the translation of Dr. Williams to York. His mildness, meekness, and humility, were equalled only by his learning, integrity, and eloquence. He experienced vexation and trouble in his promotion, and was under the necessity of retiring to a country parish, Lambourn in Essex, where he died in 1654. A monument was there erected to his memory, on which he is described as one "*Ex eorum numero Episcoporum, quibus incumbere nutantis Episcopatus molem pietatis ac probitatis suæ Fulcimine sustentare.*" He has been censured, along with Usher, Prideaux, and others, for the moderation which he always displayed towards the Puritans, and indeed towards all those who were not well affected to the church of England. But surely such a moderation is more commendable than the harshness and acrimony of intemperate zeal. Lord Clarendon naming four other divines, who were appointed bishops at the same time with Dr. Winniff, characterises them as "of great eminency in the church, frequent preachers, and not a man to whom the faults of the then governing clergy were imputed, or against whom the least objection could be made."

ⁿ Dr. Thomas Mountfort, a Residentiary of St. Paul's, died Feb. 27, 1632. It appears from Strype's Life of Whitgift, that this person was suspended for having clandestinely married Edward, Earl of Hertford, and Frances Pranel, widow of Henry Pranel, Esq. without bans or license. Upon his submission and earnest desire to be absolved, he obtained absolution from Archbishop Whitgift himself.

were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them, and how lost both to me and yourself, is not now seasonable to complain: But, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life; indeed so well, that beside others, the best critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales^o of Eaton College) affirmed to me, he had not seen a life written with more advantage to the subject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne's^p.

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for your friend Sir Henry Wotton; betwixt which two there was a friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendship of age: and doubtless this excellent person had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him; by which means his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy menage of your pen: a work which you would have declined, if imperious persuasions had not been stronger than your modest resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad, that the first life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable cause of writing the second: If not; it is too probable, we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry, without this testimony added to yours; that he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours, which in that kind is a most excellent,) age hath ever produced.

And

^o The ever memorable John Hales, Greek Professor in the University of Oxford, and afterward Fellow of Eton College, from his vast erudition, called "The Walking Library," was esteemed to be one of the greatest scholars in Europe. Having attended the Ambassador of James I. to the Synod of Dort, he composed, in a series of letters, a regular and most faithful narrative of the proceedings of that assembly. His adherence to the royal cause, involved him in distress. Obligated to sell his most valuable collection of books at a low price, he died in extreme misery, May 19, 1656, aged 72 years. It is justly remarked, that "it was none of the least injuries of those times, that so eminent a man as Hales should live and die under such necessities as he did, by which his life was shortened."

^p This was spoken of the first edition of Isaac Walton's Life of Dr. Donne, which was printed in 1640; and not, as Wood affirms, in 1653.

H.

And now having made this voluntary observation of our two deceased friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *Schismaticorum Malleus*, so great a champion for the Church of England's rights against the factious torrent of Separatists, that then ran high against church-discipline; and in his unanswerable books continues to be so against the unquiet disciples of their schism, which now under other names still carry on their design^a, and, who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the scarce-closed wounds of a newly-bleeding state and church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. Hooker; yet, as our Ecclesiastical History reports to the honour of St. Ignatius^r, "that he lived in the time of St. John, and had seen him in his childhood." So, I also joy, that in my minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker with my father, who was after Bishop of London; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the History of his Life; and, from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that, like jewels of invaluable price, they still cast such a lustre, as envy or the rust of time shall never darken.

From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accusers, and gained their confession: and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors^s.

I

^a The Separatists from the Church of England, were originally called by a general term, "Puritans." Split into parties, they were soon discriminated by the various appellations of "Presbyterians," "Independents," "Brownists," "Familists," &c.

^r Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, is in the list of the *Apostolic Fathers*, among whom were placed such Christian doctors as had conversed with the apostles themselves, or their disciples. This pious and venerable man, who being exposed to wild beasts by the order of Trajan, suffered martyrdom with the utmost constancy, was educated under the apostle and evangelist St. John, and intimately acquainted with St. Peter and St. Paul.

^s The writer of this letter experienced, in his own person, a pleasure equal to any, of which human nature is capable, that of vindicating the injured fame of a beloved parent. When

Dr.

I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker, was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer; who, after the death of Mr. Hooker, was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of "Ecclesiastical Polity," and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers; many of which were imperfect: for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles to like his. But these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer[†], who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father, after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot[‡], then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham^{*} to require, and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have heard, they were put into the Bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of

H 2.

Arch-

Dr. John King, Bishop of London, a man of solid gravity and piety, and of such an excellent volubility of tongue as well as invention, that James I. denominated him "*the King of Preachers*," was traduced as having abjured that religion, which in the course of a long life he had uniformly defended and adorned, this his son detected the falsehood of the accusation, and in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, clearly exposed the artifices of an infamous, but at that time no unusual calumny.

[†] President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. After the death of Mr. Hooker he published the five books of the Ecclesiastical Polity, with an excellent preface, subscribed I. S. the initial letters of his name.

(See Wood's *Ath. Ox.* vol. I. p. 393.)

[‡] The character of this prelate, justly to be admired for his truly Christian moderation and mildness, has been most happily pourtrayed by the pen of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, for many years the venerable Speaker of the British House of Commons, in "*The Life of Dr. George Abbot, &c.* reprinted with some additions, &c. Guildford, 1777."

^{*} Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, as well as to his successor, Dr. Abbot, and Dean of Beccles in Essex. An able divine and an amiable man. To his knowledge in divinity he added other literary accomplishments, being an accurate historian, well skilled in coins and antiquities, and so great a proficient in heraldry, that he is generally supposed to have been the author of that celebrated work, which was published in the name of John Guillim. He was also the editor of Crakanthorpe's book against the Archbishop of Spalato, entitled "*Defensio Ecclesie*," &c. Speed, at the conclusion of his History of Great Britain, gratefully acknowledges "The most acceptable helps both of books and collections (especially in matters remote from our times) from that worthy divine, Master John Barkeham, a gentleman composed of learning, virtue, and courtesie, as being no lesse ingeniously willing, than learnedly able, to advance and forward all vertuous endeavours." He bequeathed his valuable coins to Archbishop Laud, through whose munificence they were deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Archbishop Laud; and were then, by the brethren of that faction, given, with all the library, to Hugh Peters⁷, as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Church's confusion: And though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand; yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language for which the faction then fought, which indeed was—to *subject the sovereign power to the people*.

But I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known loyalty to his prince whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by King James at his death, the value our late sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his works, and now, the singular character of his worth by you, given in the passages of his Life, especially in your Appendix to it, do sufficiently

⁷ Hugh Peters, a man of loose morals, having been expelled in the earlier part of his life from the University of Cambridge, became afterward an itinerant preacher in New England, Holland, and other countries, and was at length appointed one of Oliver Cromwell's Chaplains, and a Colonel in the army. He and Dr. Burgefs are classed among those precious-gifted teachers, to whom Butler alludes in the heroical epistle of Hudibras to his Lady, ver. 305, 306. He occasionally preached the lecture at Stepney, and from thence was called by William Greenhill, the noted Independant, "The Evening Star of Stepney." Many instances are recorded of the violence of his zeal against monarchy. When Oxford was surrendered in 1646, for the use of the Parliament, he was one of the chaplains who, by propagating the most seditious doctrines in the town and in the university, endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants and the young scholars from their allegiance.—In the pulpit he not unfrequently acted the part of a buffoon or merry-andrew. He used to say, that it would never be well till 150—"The three L's, the Lords, the Levites, and the Lawyers," were put down. He preached divers sermons to persuade the army to destroy the king, whom he compared to Barabbas.—It was given in evidence against him, that he was wont to call the king *tyrant* and *fool*; and that, on the Sunday after his Majesty was brought to his trial, in the course of his sermon, he uttered these words,—“Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.”

Such was the man who got possession, not only of the Archbishop's library at Lambeth, but also of the invaluable one which belonged to the King. A commission was granted by Charles II. dated Sept. 10, 1660, to Thomas Rofs, tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, and Elias Ashmole, Esquires, empowering them to examine Hugh Peters concerning the books and medals which he was suspected of having embezzled. It was well known that he had ransacked the royal library and closet, and that their most valuable curiosities were taken out, and dispersed over Europe. In his examination (*Biogr. Brit. vol. II. p. 230. K.*) he declared, that he gave up the key and custody of them to Major General Ireton.—Of his behaviour, during his trial and at his execution, see *the State Trials*.

sufficiently clear him from that imputation. And I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, Pope Clement the VIII. and other eminent men of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his books: Having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers (my old friends also), who have been men of noted wisdom, especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless books: one of their letters I herewith send you, to make use of if you think fit. And let me say further; you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for the learned Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongst the surviving monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid², but especially his translation of "King James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance," into elegant Latin; which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the Pope and Conclave sent to Salamanca unto Franciscus Suarez³ (then residing there as president of that college) with a command to

² Or rather his works entitled "Prælectiones tredecim in Principium Elementorum Euclidis Oxoniæ Habitæ. Oxon, 1621." 4to. Sir Henry Savile having read thirteen lectures upon the first eight propositions of Euclid, surrendered the chair to Mr. Briggs, taking leave of his audience in his last lecture with these words, "Trado Lampadem successori meo, doctissimo viro, qui vos ad intima Geometriæ Mysteria perducet."

(*Ward's Professors of Gresham College*, p. 121.)

³ A celebrated Jesuit, the author of many controversial and other tracts. He was born in 1548, and died in 1617. His works are contained in 23 vol. folio. The treatise here alluded to is entitled "Defensio Fidei Catholicæ, contra Anglicanæ Sectæ Errores, una cum Responsione ad Jac. Regis Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis. Mag. 1619." A copy of this book was burnt in England by public authority. It is related of him, that he met death with the most joyful tranquillity and composure of mind, uttering these words, "Non putabam

to answer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work which he calls "*Defensio Fidei Catholicæ*," it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the inquisitors; who, according to their custom, blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the Pope's supremacy, or carry on their own-interest; commonly coupling together *Deponere et Occidere*, the deposing, and then killing of princes. Which cruel and unchristian language, Mr. John Saltkel^b, the Amanuensis to Suarez, when he wrote that answer (but since a convert, and living long in my father's house), often professed the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further; your reader (if according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will here find many just reasons to thank you for it; and possibly for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to many), may happily apprehend one to thank him, who heartily wishes your happiness, and is unfeignedly,

Sir, your ever-faithful and affectionate old friend,

CHICHESTER, NOV.
17, 1664.

HENRY CHICHESTER.

"*bam tam dulce, tam suave esse mori.*" (*Dictionnaire Historique, &c. à Paris, 1777.*)—Dr. Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury, delivered a course of lectures against Suarez. They were published after his death by his son, with this title, "*De supremâ potestate regiâ exercitationes. habitæ in Academiâ Oxoniensi, contra Rob. Bellarmine et Francis Suarez. Londini, 1619.*" 4to.—Pope Paul V. dishonoured his title of Holiness, and cast an indelible stain on his infallibility, by an express approbation of the doctrine advanced in the writings of Suarez in defence of the murder of Kings.

^b Mr. John Saltkel or Salkeild; for some years a Member of the Church of Rome and a Jesuit. He was profoundly read in theological and other authors; but, being for the same of his learning brought before King James, he was so far convinced by his Majesty's arguments, as to come over to the Church of England, for which he was wont to style himself "The Royal Convert," and the King honoured him so far, as to call him "The Learned Salkeild" in his works and writings. (*Echard's History of England, vol. II. p. 871.*)—"Never had England more learned bishops and doctors: Which of them ever returned from his majesty's discourse without admiration? What king christened, hath written so learned volumes? To omit the rest, his last of this kind, wherein he hath so held up Cardinal Bellarmine and his master Pope Paulus, is such, that Plessis and Mouline, the two great lights of France, profess to receive their light in this discourse from his beams, and the learned Jesuit, Salkeild, could not but be converted with the necessity of those demonstrations" (*Holy Panegyric, Bishop Hall's Works, p. 1142.*)—Mr. Salkeild became Rector of Church Taunton in Devonshire, in 1635, and was afterward, for his loyalty, deprived of his preferment, and died at Ulculm, in Feb. 1659-60.

THE LIFE
OF
DOCTOR JOHN DONNE,

LATE DEAN OF SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH, LONDON.

THE INTRODUCTION.

IF that great master of language and art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late Professor of Eaton College, had lived to see the publication of these sermons^c, he had presented the world with the Author's life exactly written; and it was pity he did not; for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it: betwixt whom, and the Author, there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And, though their bodies were divided, their affections were not: for that learned Knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave^d; which he testified by entreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to inquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful: I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen: but then, death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these sermons were to be printed, and want the Author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable: Indignation or grief (indeed I know not which) transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the Author's life that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

I

And

^c It must be remembered that the life of Dr. Donne was originally prefixed to the first volume of his sermons, printed in 1640.

^d The grave which causes forgetfulness. In this sense the epithet is used in Milton——

———“ If the sleepy drench
“ Of that *forgetful* lake benumb not still.

PAR. LOST, B. II. ver. 73.

“ Oblivioso lævia Massico

“ Cibaria exple.

HOR. L. II. Od. VII. ver. 21.

Οὐτι πῶ εἰς Αἶδαν γι τον ἐκλεθαοντα φυλαξης.

THEOCR. Εἰδὲλλ. α. 63.

And if I shall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bondman was^c;— (the grateful wretch had been left alone on the sea-shore, with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master: and, was then gathering the scattered pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it, which was the custom of the Romans)—“Who art thou that alone hast the honour to bury the body of Pompey the great*?” so, who am I that do thus officiously set the Author's memory on fire? I hope the question will prove to have in it, more of wonder than disdain. But wonder indeed the reader may, that I, who profess myself artless, should presume with my faint light to shew forth his life whose very name makes it illustrious! but be this to the disadvantage of the person represented: Certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who shall here see the Author's picture in a natural dress, which ought to beget faith in what is spoken; for he that wants skill to deceive, may safely be trusted.

And if the Author's glorious spirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leisure to look down and see me, the poorest, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of his officious duty, confident I am, that he will not disdain this well-meant sacrifice to his memory: for, whilst his conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleness were then eminent; and, I have heard divines say, those virtues that were but sparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to entreat the reader to take notice, that when Doctor Donne's Sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and, I dare not now appear without it.

^c Philip, the freed-man of Pompey, watched the dead body of his master, till the multitude had satisfied their curiosity; and then washing it with sea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding some rotten planks of a little fisherman's boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. Lucan has given a long description of Pompey's unhappy destiny. According to his account, the body was thrown into the sea, and Servius Codrus, once his quaestor and his friend, brought it to shore, and paid the last honours to it.

E latebris pavidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus
 Quæstor ab Idalio Cinyrææ litore Cypri:
 In faustus magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras
 Ausus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem
 Compulit, ut mediis quæsitum corpus in undis.
 Duceret ad terram, traheretq; ad litora magnum.

LUCAN. L. VIII. ver. 720.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DONNE.

MASTER John Donne was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity, yet the reader may be pleased to know, that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas Moor^f, sometime Lord Chancellor of England; as also from that worthy and laborious Judge Rastall^g, who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and in his eleventh year was sent to the University of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin Tongue. This, and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him; That this

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age

^f Fuller's Church History, B. x. p. 112.

^g John Rastall, a celebrated printer, married Elizabeth the sister of Sir Thomas Moor. William, their son, was brought up to the bar, and was appointed one of the Justices of the King's Bench in 1558. Upon the demise of Queen Mary, he steadily adhered to his religion, left England, and spent the remainder of his days at Louvain. He published the works of his uncle Sir Thomas Moor in one volume. He also formed a collection of and wrote a comment on the statutes, and a very useful book entitled "Les Termes de la Ley," or "An explication of certain difficult and obscure words and terms of the common laws and statutes of this realm now in use." The author of several tracts against Bishop Jewell was John Rastall, who left the Church of England, in which he had been ordained priest, went to Rome, and with this his kinsman was admitted into the society of Jesus.

age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula^h; of whom story says, that he was rather born, than made wise by study.

There he remained some years in Hart-Hallⁱ, having, for the advancement of his studies, tutors of several sciences to attend and instruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning, expressed in public exercises, declared him worthy to receive his first degree in the schools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the oath that is always tendered at those times, and not to be refused by those that expect the titular honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge^k; where, that he might receive nourishment from both soils, he stayed till his seventeenth year; all which time he was a most laborious student,

^h Picus Prince of Mirandula, a duchy in Italy, now the property of the Dukes of Modena, was born in 1463, and having resigned his sovereignty in favour of his nephew, he died in 1494. He is said to have made so wonderful a progress in study, as to understand twenty-two languages at the age of eighteen years, and at the age of twenty-four years to dispute with great success, *de omni scibili*. "Picus Mirandula 32 ætatis anno quo obiit omni disciplinarum genere non modo tinctus, sed plane imbutus erat, ut Encyclopediam Scientiarum jure sibi vindicare potuerit, longiore vitâ plané dignissimus princeps." (*Scaligerana*.)—He was honoured with this pompous Epitaph

"Hic situs est Picus Mirandula: cætera norunt

"Et Tagus et Ganges, forsan et Antipodes."

On which it has been justly remarked, that "his name, then celebrated in the remotest corners of the earth, is now almost forgotten, and his works then studied, admired, and applauded, are now mouldering in obscurity." (*Dr. Johnson's works*, vol. 2. p. 273.)—The life of this prodigy of learning, written with great elegance of language by John Francis Prince of Mirandula is inserted in *Bates's Vitæ selectorum*, &c. p. 90.

ⁱ "He continued for three years at Hart-Hall, which was so called from Elias de Hertford, who lived in the tenth year of Edward the first. An. Dom. 1282. In 1312 it changed its name to Stapledon Hall, but upon the settlement of Exeter College it returned to its former appellation." (*Le Neve*.)—In 1740 it was by a royal charter erected into a college by the name of "Hertford College in the University of Oxford," to consist of a principal, four senior, and eight junior Fellows.

^k To Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was fellow pupil with Mr. Samuel Brook, who succeeded Dr. Leonard Maw in the mastership of that college.

student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

× About the seventeenth year of his age, he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to study the law; where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profession: which never served him for other use than an ornament and self-satisfaction. ×

His father died before his admission into the society; and being a merchant, left him his portion in money. (It was 3000*l*.) His mother and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematics, and in all the other liberal sciences, to attend him. But with these arts they were advised to instil into him particular principles of the Romish Church; of which those tutors profest (though secretly) themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his preface to his *Pseudo-Martyr*¹; a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself to no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason, and piety had both persuaded him, that there could be no such sin as Schism, if an adherence to some visible church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age; he being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore (though his youth and health, promised him a long life), to rectify all scruples that might concern that,
presently

¹ "I had alonger work to do than many other men: for I was first to blot out certaine impressions of the Romane religion and to wrestle both against the examples and against the reasons, by which some hold was taken, and some anticipations early layde upon my conscience, both by persons who by nature had a power and superiority over my will, and others who by their learning and good life seemed to me justly to claime an interest for the guiding and rectifying of mine understanding in these matters." (*Preface to the Pseudo-martyr*, which is pronounced by Mr. Granger to be the most valuable of Donne's prose-writings.)

(*Biographical Hist.* vol 1. p. 357.)

presently lay aside all study of the law, and of all other sciences that might give him a denomination; and begun seriously to survey and consider the body of divinity^m, as it was then controverted betwixt the reformed and the Roman Church. And as God's blessed spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him, (they be his own words in his preface to Pseudo-martyr) so he calls the same holy spirit to witness this protestation; that, in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and, by that which he took to be the safest way; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties: and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and, he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the Cardinal Bellarmineⁿ to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty: and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience; he therefore

^m The principal heads of this controversy have been discussed with great ability and candour by the most eminent divines of our church, and particularly by those of them, who lived in the reign of James II. Mr. Pope, in a letter to Bishop Atterbury, tells his Lordship, that when he was fourteen years old, he read the controversies between the two churches. He adds, "and the consequence was, I found myself a Papist and a Protestant by turns, according to the last book I read." This, as the writer of his life observes, is an admirable description of every reader busied in religious controversy, without possessing the principles on which a right judgment of the points in question is to be regulated.—If Mr. Pope had pursued this inquiry with the same preparatory knowledge, with the same humble diffidence that attended Dr. Donne, it is reasonable to think that the result of his researches would have been different from what he has represented it.

ⁿ Robert Bellarmine, raised to the purple in 1599 by Pope Clement VIII. was born in 1542, and died at Rome in 1621. He was esteemed by the Jesuits as the brightest ornament of their order, and the Protestant writers have always considered him as the most learned advocate of the church of Rome. His great work has been called "*Opus absolutissimum, quod controversiarum fermé omnium corpus dici queat.*" The following eulogium is prefixed to a print of him by Bolswert. "*Robertus Bellarminus Politianus Societatis Jesu animi submissione quam purpurâ major: nec pio minus quam docto in hæreses controversiarum calamo orbi notissimus: virtutum ut amator ita cultor omnium. Quam a Motre Virgine carnem acciperat, quam a sacro lavacro innocentiam Deo reddidit: nullius sibi vitâ omni mendacii conscius: cujus etiam medicam manum in vario morborum genere experti non pauci. Vivere hic desit, cælo incepit anno MDCXXI. ætatis suæ LXXIX.*"

therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age, did shew the then Dean of Gloucester^o (whose name my memory hath now lost) all the Cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a legacy to a most dear friend.

× About a year following he resolved to travel; and the Earl of Essex going first the Cales, and after the Island voyages, the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments^p. But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was, at his first going into Italy, designed for travelling to the holy land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the Sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness; which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration. ×

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the Lord Ellesmore^a, then keeper of the great seal, and Lord Chancellor

^o Dr. Anthony Rudd, born in Yorkshire, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died Bishop of St. David's in 1614. Of his sermon preached in 1596 before Queen Elizabeth, from Ps. xc. 12, in which by personally alluding to her advanced years, and plainly telling her Majesty, that "age had furrowed her face, and besprinkled her hair with its meal," he incurred her heavy displeasure." (See Fuller's *Ch. History*, B. X. Cent. xvii. p. 69.)

^p Of this expedition in 1596, in which Cadiz was taken from the Spaniards, a narrative written by the Earl of Essex is inserted in Camden's *Annals of England*, &c.

^a Sir Thomas Egerton, Knight, a native of Cheshire, the founder of the house of Egerton. In consideration of his singular merits he had the care of the Great Seal committed to him, May 6, 1596, under the title of Lord Keeper, and by King James I. he was created Baron of Ellesmore, and constituted Lord Chancellor of England. His literary character is portrayed in the following letter written by Sir Francis Bacon, when he presented him with a copy of "The Advancement of Learning."

Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief Secretary; supposing and intending it to be an introduction to some more

“ May it please your good Lordship,

“ I humbly present your lordship with a work, wherein as you have much commandment
 “ over the author, so your Lordship hath great interest in the argument: for, to speak without flattery, few have like use of learning or like judgment in learning, as I have observed
 “ in your Lordship. And again your Lordship hath been a great planter of learning, not only
 “ in those places in the church, which have been in your own gift, but also in your commendatory vote no man hath more constantly held “ *detur digniori*”; and therefore both
 “ your Lordship is beholden to learning, and learning beholden to you; which maketh me
 “ presume, with good assurance, that your Lordship will accept well of these my labours,
 “ the rather because your Lordship in private speech hath often begun to me in expressing
 “ your admiration of his Majesty’s learning, to whom I have dedicated this work; and whose
 “ virtue and perfection in that kind did chiefly move me to a work of this nature. And so
 “ with signification of my most humble duty and affection to your Lordship,

“ I remain.”

1605.

(*Bacon’s Works*, vol. III. p. 229.)

This excellent person died at the age of seventy years, March 15, 1616-17, having on the third of that month resigned the Great Seal, which on the seventh was given to Sir Francis Bacon. “ It was said of Bankes the Attorney (General) that he exceeded Bacon in eloquence,
 “ *Chancellor Ellefmare in judgment*, and William Noy in law.”

(*Lord Strafford’s Letters*, vol. I. p. 427.)

“ TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

“ Whilst thy weigh’d judgments, Egerton, I hear,
 “ And know thee then a judge not of one year,
 “ Whilst I behold thee live with purest hands,
 “ That no affection in thy voice commands,
 “ That still thou’rt present to the better cause
 “ And no less wise than skilful in the laws,
 “ Whilst thou art certain to thy words once gone,
 “ As is thy conscience, which is always one:
 “ The virgin long since fled from earth I see
 “ T’ our times return’d hath made her heaven in thee.

(*Ben Jonson.*)

Lloyd in his *State Worthies*, p. 756, observes, that “ Christendom afforded not a person
 “ which carried more gravity in his countenance and behaviour, than Sir Thomas Egerton,
 “ infomuch that many have gone to the Chancery on purpose only to see his venerable garb,
 “ (happy they who had no other business) and were highly pleased at so acceptable a picture.”

more weighty employment in the State ; for which, his Lordship did often protest, he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordship in this time of Master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his servant, as to forget he was his friend; and to testify it, did always use him with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, as (with her approbation) increased into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady Elsemore^r, and daughter to Sir George Moor^s, then Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it; and knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the county of Surry ; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves ; and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments to kill or cool their affections to each other : but in vain ; for love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father, a passion that carries us to commit errors with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together (I forbear to tell the manner how), and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation

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always .

^r Sister to Sir George Moor of Loxly-Farm, in the county of Surry, Knight, and widow of Sir John Wooley, of Pirford in Surry, Knight, and mother of that Sir Francis Wooley, who kindly took Dr. Donne and his wife under his protection.

^s This gentleman was Treasurer or Receiver General of the revenues of Henry Prince of Wales in 1604. In 1610 he was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and in 1615 Lieutenant of the Tower. .
(See Wood's *A. O.* vol. I. page 492.)

always was, and ever will be necessary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so; and that pre-apprehensions might make it the less enormous, when it was known, it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George (doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear), the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour, Henry Earl of Northumberland¹: But it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and so transported him, that as though his passion of anger and inconsideration might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister the Lady Elsemore, to join with him to procure her Lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his Lordship.—This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembered, that errors might be overpunished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear some scruples, yet he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the Lord Chancellor did not at Mr. Donne's dismissal give him such a commendation, as the great Emperor Charles the Fifth did of his Secretary Erasmo², when he presented him to his son and successor

¹ Henry Percy, the ninth Earl of Northumberland of that name; "a learned man himself and the generous favourer of all good learning," as he is called by Anthony Wood. This nobleman, upon the marriage of his youngest daughter Lady Lucy Percy, a lady of the most distinguished wit and beauty, with the Lord Haye, afterward created Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle, discovered the same harshness of disposition, which he probably censured in the father-in-law of Dr. Donne. The treatment which he received from James I. to whom he always shewed the most faithful attachment, affords one among many instances of the injustice of that monarch, who fined this nobleman 30,000*l.* and "imprisoned him in the Tower from 1605 to 1619 upon a mere suspicion, without the least proof of his having had knowledge of the powder-plot, as Cecyll himself confessed in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmunds, dated Dec. 2. 1605." (*Birch's View of the Negotiations, &c.* p. 245.)

² On the 16th of January 1556, his Majesty passed the act "of the Renunciation of the Crown of Spain and all its dominions to his son Philip in the presence of Francis de Erasmo
" his

successor Philip the Second, saying, "That in his Erasmo, he gave to him a greater gift than all his estate, and all the kingdoms which he then resigned to him;" yet the Lord Chancellor said, "He parted with a friend and such a secretary as was fitter to serve a king than a subject."

Immediately after his dismissal from his service, he sent a sad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it; and, after the subscription of his name, writ,

JOHN DONNE, ANNE DONNE, UN-DONE;

And God knows it proved too true: For this bitter physic of Mr. Donne's dismissal was not strong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler, for he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime compupil in Cambridge that married him, namely, Samuel Brook* (who was after Doctor

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in

"his Secretary and all the Spaniards then at Brussels." (*Stevens's Translation of the History of Charles V. written in Spanish by D. F. Prudencio de Sandoval, Bishop of Pamplona, &c. p. 453.*) It was probably at this very time that the Emperor recommended this faithful secretary to his son.

* Samuel Brook, descended from a respectable family at York, was the son of Robert Brook, an eminent merchant, and Lord Mayor of that city in 1582 and in 1595. He was admitted of Trinity College in Cambridge in 1596; and on September 26, 1612, being then Chaplain to Prince Henry, he was chosen Divinity Professor in Gresham College, on the recommendation of that Prince, whose unhappy death followed, Nov. 6th ensuing. In 1613 he was elected one of the twelve preachers of the University, and the year following he wrote a Latin pastoral, which was acted with applause before King James in Trinity College Hall, on Friday, March 10. Copies of this performance are yet extant with this title, "Melanthe, Fabula pastoralis, acta cum Jacobus, Magnæ Brit. Franc. et Hiberniæ Rex, Cantabrigiam suam nuper inviserat, ibidemq; musarum atque animi gratiâ dies quinque commoraretur. Egerunt Alumni Coll. San. et individue Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ. Excudebat Cantrellus Legge, Mart. 27, 1615." In 1630 he is said to have composed an Arminian Treatise of Predestination, with which he acquainted Bishop Laud, who encouraged him in the work, recommending it to the revival of Dr. Lindsey and Dr. Beale, two great Arminians, and promising to peruse it himself, as appears by sundry letters. (*Pryne's Canterbury's Doom. p. 167.*) Of this tract Mr. Horsey, in the funeral oration delivered in Trinity College Chapel, thus speaks, "Nec illum prætereo factum nuperrime formatum "de magno et secreto Prædestinationis Mysterio Disputationes." Quanti nobis esset a Tineis et Latebris redimere has pretiosas chartas, ut typis fideliter excusæ in manus omnium pervenirent." In 1615 he was created D.D. and in 1618 was promoted to the Rectory of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, in London. He resigned.

in Divinity, and Master of Trinity College) and his brother Mr. Christopher Brook^y, sometime Mr. Donne's Chamber-fellow in Lincoln's-Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still cloudy; and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him, for his wife was (to her extreme sorrow) detained from him; and though with Jacob he endured not an hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in law, which proved troublesome and sadly chargeable to him, whose youth, travel, and needless bounty had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men: and it proved so with Sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour (which when it would entice had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art), these and time had so dispassionated Sir George, that as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not but

resigned his Professorship of Gresham College in 1629, upon his appointment to the Mastership of Trinity College in Cambridge, vacated by the death of Dr. Leonard Maw, Bishop of Bath and Wells. In 1631 he was made Archdeacon of Wells, and in that year he died; and was buried in Trinity College Chapel, without either monument or epitaph. He is described as a man of wit and learning. And Mr. Horsey commends him for his "*concionandi copia*." Of his writings there is extant only one discourse, from the title of which we may form an idea of the nature of the questions, which were then usually discussed in the divinity schools. "*De auxilio divinæ gratiæ exercitatio theologica, nimirum, an possibile sit duos eandem habere gratiæ mensuram, et tamen unus convertatur et credat, alter non: e Johan. xi. 45, 46.*"

(*Ward's Professors of Gresham College.*)

^y A Bench^r and Summer Reader at Lincoln's Inn, to the chapel of which he was a benefactor. He is much commended as a poet by Ben Jonson, Drayton, and others of his contemporaries. He wrote an elegy, consecrated to the never-dying memory of Henry Prince of Wales, London 1613, 4to. He also published Eclogues dedicated to his much loved friend Mr. William Brown of the Inner Temple, London, 1614, 8vo. To this gentleman Dr. Donne hath inscribed two poems, "*The Storme*" and "*The Calme*."

but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son; and this at last melted him into so much remorse (for love and anger are so like agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not till death denies mankind a natural heat), that he laboured his son's restoration to his place; using to that end, both his own and his sister's power to her Lord, but with no success, for his answer was, "That though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit to discharge and readmit servants at the request of passionate petitioners."

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's readmission was by all means to be kept secret:—(For men do more naturally reluct for errors, than submit to put on those blemishes that attend their visible acknowledgment)—But however it was not long before Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled as to wish their happiness, and not to deny them his paternal blessing, but yet refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood.

Mr. Donne's estate was the greatest part spent in many chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience: He out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated, both their natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive courtesies: These and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented by the seasonable courtesy of their noble kinsman, Sir Francis Wolley of Pirford in Surry², who intreated them to a cohabitation with him, where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him for some years; and, as their charge increased (she had yearly a child), so did his love and bounty.

It hath been observed by wise and considering men, that wealth hath seldom been the portion, and never the mark to discover good
 peo-

² The son of Sir John Wooley, Knight, Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, who, though a layman, was promoted to the Deanery of Carlisle on the death of Sir Thomas Smith. He was knighted some time after his advancement to that dignity. He caused a monument to
 be

people^a; but, that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of his abundant goodness denied it (he only knows why) to many, whose minds he hath enriched with the greater blessings of knowledge and virtue^b, as the fairer testimonies of his love to mankind; and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments, whose necessary and daily expences were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow estate; which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares, the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God hath been so good to his church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at his altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind; a disposition that is so like to God himself, that it owes itself only to him, who takes a pleasure to behold it in his creatures. These times (anno 1608), he did bless with many such, some of which live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham; one that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful

be erected to himself and his parents in the cathedral church of St. Paul's. He is there represented as sitting between his father and mother. The inscription begins

"D. O. M.

"Joannes Wolleius, eques auratus, Regina Elizabethæ a Secretioribus Consiliis, Secretarius
"Linguae Latinæ, Cancellarius Ordinis Periscelidis, Doctrinâ, Pietate, Fide, Probitate, Gravitate clarissimus.

"Obiit anno 1595."

Then follow twenty-four Latin hexameter verses, in which are contained the history and character of Sir John Wooley, Elizabeth his wife, afterwards Lady Elsemore, and Sir Francis Wooley their son.
(*Dugdale's History of St. Paul's.*)

^a "I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding." Eccles. ix. 11.

^b According to the Greek Poet,

Σοφία δὲ πλεῖστα κτήματι τιμωτέρη.

cheerful heart at the age of 94 years (and is yet living^c); one, that in his days of plenty had so large a heart as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now (be it spoken with sorrow) reduced to a narrow state, which he embraces without repining, and still shews the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which to-morrow were to care for itself. I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation.—He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose. “Mr. Donne, the occasion of sending for you is to propose to you, what I have often revolved in my own thought since I last saw you, which nevertheless I will not declare but
“ upon

^c “The learned, pious, and painful Bishop of Durham (Morton) hath fought in front against Roman superstition and idolatry.” (*Sir Edward Deering’s Speech against the Remonstrants.*)—This learned and charitable prelate, as Isaac Walton somewhere calls him, not more distinguished by the splendor of his parentage, than by his habitual temperance and diligence in study, died Sept. 22, 1659, in the 95th year of his age, after having received the most injurious treatment from the Parliament. No apology is necessary for the insertion of the following affecting story concerning him. “Having suffered imprisonment at different times, and undergone many hardships, he was expelled from Durham-house. Wandering from place to place, he at last went to London with about sixty pounds—(which it seems was then his all);—he was overtaken on the road by Sir Christopher Yelverton, who being known to the Bishop was unknown to him; and in discourse asking the old gentleman, “What he was,” the good Bishop replied, “I am that old man, the Bishop of Durham, notwithstanding all your votes:” For Sir Christopher was not free from the stain of the times. Whereupon Sir Christopher demanded where he was going: “To London,” replied the old gentleman; “to live a little while and then die.” On this Sir Christopher entered into further discourse with him, took him home with him into Northamptonshire, where he became tutor to that son of his, which was afterwards the incomparably learned Sir Henry Yelverton, and pre-faced this most excellent Bishop’s little piece of Episcopacy.” (*Walker’s Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 18.)—“He was,” says his excellent pupil, “an ancient Bishop, and had all the qualifications fit for his order, either to adorn or govern a church; but above all he was eminent for his invincible patience under so many violent persecutions and almost necessities, always rejoicing in his losses, and protesting that he thought himself richer with nothing and a good conscience, than those were who had devoured his goodly bishopric. He was forty-four years a bishop, a thing so extraordinary, that but one exceeded him in this island.” (*Sir H. Yelverton’s Preface to Επισκοπος απολογος, or the Episcopacy of the Church of England justified.*)

“ upon this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, but
 “ forbear three days, and bestow some part of that time in fasting and prayer^d,
 “ and after a serious consideration of what I shall propose, then return
 “ to me with your answer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne, for it is the effect
 “ of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for yours to
 “ me.”

This request being granted, the Doctor expressed himself thus:—“ Mr.
 “ Donne, I know your education and abilities; I know your expectation
 “ of a state-employment, and I know your fitness for it, and I know too
 “ the many delays and contingencies that attend court-promises; and let
 “ me tell you, that my love, begot by our long friendship and your merits,
 “ hath prompted me to such an inquisition after your present temporal estate,
 “ as makes me no stranger to your necessities, which I know to be such as
 “ your generous spirit could not bear, if it were not supported with a pious
 “ patience: You know I have formerly persuaded you to wave your court-
 “ hopes, and enter into holy orders; which I now again persuade you to
 “ embrace, with this reason added to my former request: The King hath
 “ yesterday^e made me Dean of Gloucester, and I am also possessed of a be-
 “ nefice, the profits of which are equal to those of my Deanery; I will
 “ think

^d The condition required by Dr. Morton of Mr. Donne, that he should not give an answer to the Doctor's proposal, until he had passed three days in fasting and prayer, deserves notice, as marking the high devotional spirit of the times: For it is to be remembered that this was not the proposition of an enthusiastic puritan, but of a very eminent and respectable divine of the Church of England. If our ancestors carried matters of this nature too far (which there is no reason to think they did), their successors have run into the contrary extreme. A principle of piety exercised in referring our concerns to the providential direction of the Supreme Being, would be no bar to the wisdom, ability, and success of our lawful undertakings. This sentiment, that prayer and labour should co-operate, is expressed by Donne himself, in one of his poems, though with no elegance of language.

“ In none but us are such mixt engines found,
 “ As hands of double office; for the ground
 “ We till with them, and them to heaven we raise;
 “ Who prayerless labours or without this prays,
 “ Doth but one half—that's none.”

(*Biogr. Brit. 2d. Edit.*)

^e He was presented by the King to the Deanery of Gloucester, June 22, 1607, through the recommendation of Archbishop Bancroft.

“think my Deanery enough for my maintenance (who am and resolve to
 “die a single man) and will quit my benefice, and estate you in it (which the
 “patron is willing I shall do), if God shall incline your heart to embrace
 “this motion. Remember, Mr. Donne, no man’s education or parts
 “make him too good for this employment, *which is to be an Ambassador*
 “*for the God of glory; that God, who, by a vile death, opened the gates of life*
 “*to mankind.* Make me no present answer, but remember your promise,
 “and return to me the third day with your resolution.”

At the hearing of this, Mr. Donne’s faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict, but he performed his promise, and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:

“My most worthy and most dear friend, since I saw you I have been
 “faithful to my promise, and have also meditated much of your great
 “kindness, which hath been such as would exceed even my gratitude, but
 “that it cannot do, and more I cannot return you; and I do that with an
 “heart full of humility and thanks, though I may not accept of your
 “offer: But, Sir, my refusal is not for that I think myself too good for
 “that calling, for which kings, if they think so, are not good enough;
 “nor for that my education and learning, though not eminent, may not,
 “being assisted with God’s grace and humility, render me in some mea-
 “sure fit for it; but I dare make so dear a friend as you are my con-
 “fessor; some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men,
 “that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with him by penitential
 “resolutions against them, and by the assistance of his grace banished them
 “my affections; yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man,
 “as to free me from their censures, and it may be that sacred calling from
 “a dishonour^f. And besides, whereas it is determined by the best of Ca-
 “suits, that *God’s glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second*
 “*motive to embrace that calling,* and though each man may propose to
 L “himself

^f There is not the least reason to suppose that Mr. Donne ever disgraced his character by any act of immorality. He probably mixed more in the world than he thought consistent with the profession of a clergyman: He had not given that valediction to the pleasures and amusements of life, which he deemed requisite. When he devoted his time to the study of poetry, he chose subjects for his pen, which at a later period of life appeared to him too trifling and ludicrous.

“himself both together, yet the first may not be put last without a violation of conscience, which he that searches the heart will judge. And truly my present condition is such, that if I ask my-own conscience whether it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither give myself nor you an answer. You know, Sir, who says, *Happy is that man whose conscience doth not accuse him for that thing which he does*⁵. To these I might add other reasons that dissuade me; but I crave your favour that I may forbear to express them, and thank-fully decline your offer.”

This was his present resolution; but the heart of man is not in his own keeping, and he was destined to this sacred service by a higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance: of which I shall give the reader an account before I shall give a rest to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolley till his death; a little before which time, Sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forsaken son and daughter; Sir George conditioning by bond to pay to Mr. Donne 800l. at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20l. quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with Sir Francis, he studied the Civil and Canon Laws; in which he acquired such a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Micham (near to Croydon in Surrey), a place noted for good air, and choice company: There his wife and children remained; and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to White-Hall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the nobility and others of this nation, who used him in their councils of greatest consideration, and with some rewards for his better subsistence. Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most Ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He

⁵ “Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which he doeth.” Rom. xiv. 22.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London, but he still denied it, having settled his dear wife and children at Micham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him; for they, God knows, needed it: And that you may the better now judge of the then present condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many letters.

—"And the reason why I did not send an answer to your last week's letter was, because it then found me under too great a sadness, and at present it is thus with me. There is not one person but myself well of my family; I have already lost half a child, and with that mischance of hers, my wife is fallen into such a discomposure, as would afflict her too extremely, but that the sickness of all her other children stupifies her; of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope; and these meet with a fortune so ill provided for physic, and such relief, that if God should ease us with burials, I know not how to perform even that; but I flatter myself with this hope, that I am dying too, for I cannot waste faster than by such griefs. As for—

AUG. 10.

"From my hospital at Micham,

"JOHN DONNE."

Thus did he bemoan himself: And thus in other letters.

—"For we hardly discover a sin, when it is but an omission of some good, and no accusing act: With this or the former, I have often suspected myself to be overtaken; which is, with an over-earnest desire of the next life. And though I know it is not merely a weariness of this; because I had the same desire when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than I now do; yet I doubt worldly troubles have increased it. It is now spring, and all the pleasures of it displease me; every other tree blossoms, and I wither: I grow older and not better; my strength diminisheth and my load grows heavier, and yet I would fain be or do something, but that I cannot tell what, is no wonder in this time of my sadness: For to choose is to do, but to be no part of any body is as to be nothing; and so I am, and shall so judge myself, unless I could be so incorporated into a part of the world, as by business to con-

"tribute some sustentation to the whole. This I made account; I began
 "early, when I understood the study of our laws; but was diverted by
 "leaving that and embracing the worst voluptuousness, an *hydroptique*
 "*immoderate desire of human learning and languages*^h: Beautiful ornaments
 "indeed to men of great fortunes; but mine was grown so low as to need
 "an occupation, which I thought I entered well into, when I subjected
 "myself to such a service as I thought might exercise my poor abilities;
 "and there I stumbled and fell too: And now I am become so little, or
 "such a nothing, that I am not a subject good enough for one of my own
 "letters.—Sir, I fear my present discontent does not proceed from a good
 "root, that I am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, Sir,
 "though my fortune hath made me such, as that I am rather a sickness or
 "a disease of the world, than any part of it, and therefore neither love it
 "nor life; yet I would gladly live to become some such thing as you
 "should not repent loving me. Sir, your own soul cannot be more zealous
 "for your good than I am; and God, who loves that zeal in me, will not
 "suffer you to doubt it. You would pity me now, if you saw me write, for
 "my pain hath drawn my head so much awry, and holds it so, that my eye
 "cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my prayers with
 "mine own weary soul, and commend myself to yours. I doubt not but
 "next week will bring you good news; for I have either mending or dying
 "on my side: But if I do continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in
 "this, That my blessed Saviour, in exercising his justice upon my two
 "worldly parts, my fortune and my body, reserves all his mercy for that
 "which most needs it, my soul; which is, I doubt, too like a porter that
 "is very often near the gate, and yet goes not out.—Sir, I profess to you
 "truly, that my loathsomeness to give over writing now, seems to myself a sign
 "that I shall write no more——

SEPT. 7.

"Your poor friend, and God's poor patientⁱ,

"JOHN DONNE."

By

^h Donne, in one of his poems, uses the expression of "The sacred hunger of Science."

ⁱ This letter most affectingly exhibits a gloomy picture of family-distress: A good man struggling with poverty and sickness, almost sinking under the pressure of accumulated misery, but happily deriving consolation from this reflection, that while his body and his fortune only suffered, the tender mercy of God was reserved for his soul.—In another letter he thus describes

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind; and thus it continued with him for about two years, all which time his family remained constantly at Micham, and to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman Church, and especially those of supremacy and allegiance. And to that place, and such studies, he could willingly have wedded himself during his life; but the earnest persuasion of friends, became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drury^k, a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drury-lane, and not only rent-free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathised with him and his in all their joy and sorrows^l.

At this time of Mr. Donne's and his wife's living in Sir Robert's house, the Lord Hay was, by King James, sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French King Henry the Fourth; and Sir Robert put on a sudden resolution

scribes his sad situation;—"I write from the fire-side in my parlour, and in the noise of three "gamefome children, and by the side of her, whom because I have transplanted into a "wretched fortune, I must labour to disguise that from her by all such honest devices, as "giving her my company and discourse." The mournful history of this unfortunate marriage affords a most important lesson of instruction to young persons. In an affair of high consequence to their welfare in future life, the utmost caution, the most rigid circumspection are necessary. Connexions, formed without the express consent and approbation of parents and guardians, are so far from being productive of domestic bliss, that they are generally marked with disappointment, misfortune, and penitential sorrow.

^k Sir Robert Drury was the patron of Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, who dedicates to him his First, as he does to Lady Drury "The Second Century of Meditations and Vows, Divine and Moral."

^l The death of a young lady, the daughter of Sir Robert Drury, afforded to Dr. Donne a subject for the exercise of his muse, in two poems. "I. An Anatomic of the World, "wherein by occasion of the untimely death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury, the frailty and "decay of this whole world is represented. The First Anniversary.—II. Of the Progress "of the Soule. Wherein, by occasion of the religious death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury, "the incommodities of the soule in this life, and her exaltation in the next, are contemplated. "The Second Anniversary."

resolution to accompany him to the French court, and to be present at his audience there^m. And Sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution, to subject Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherwise under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, "Her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence," and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it, and Mr. Donne was so generous as to think he had sold his liberty when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him, and told his wife so, who did therefore with an unwilling-willingness give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months; for about that time they determined their return. Within a few days after this resolve, the Ambassador, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne left London, and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris. Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone in that room in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and as he left, so he found Mr. Donne alone, but in such an ecstasy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him; insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence? To which Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer; but after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, "I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you; I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms: This I have seen since I saw you." To which Sir Robert replied, "Sure, Sir, you

^m The Authors of the Biographia Britannica observe, that Mr. Walton is mistaken in his information, when he writes, that Sir Robert Drury accompanied the Lord Hay in his embassy from King James to the French King; for that Lord was not sent Ambassador to France, until July 1616: whereas it is evident from the dates of some of Mr. Donne's letters that he was at Paris with Sir Robert Drury in 1612.

^a Εκων ἀεχοντι γε θυμω.

ὁ δ' ἔθελων τε καὶ θελων.

HOM.

EURIP. IN HECUB.

“ you have slept since I saw you, and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake.” To which Mr. Donne’s reply was, “ I cannot be surer that I now live, than that I have not slept since I saw you; and I am as sure, that at her second appearing she stopped, and looked me in the face, and vanished.”—Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. Donne’s opinion the next day; for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed a confidence, that he inclined Sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true.—It is truly said, that desire and doubt have no rest; and it proved so with Sir Robert, for he immediately sent a servant to Drewry House, with a charge to hasten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne was alive? and if alive, in what condition she was as to her health?—The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account—That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad, and sick in her bed; and that after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget some wonder; and it well may, for most of our world are at present possessed with an opinion that visions and miracles are ceased. And though it is most certain, that two lutes being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then one played upon, the other, that which is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit distance, will (like an echo to a trumpet) warble a faint audible harmony, in answer to the same tune, yet many will not believe there is any such thing as a sympathy of souls: and I am well pleased, that every reader do enjoy his own opinion; but if the unbelieving will not allow the believing reader of this story a liberty to believe that it may be true, then I wish him to consider, many wise men have believed, that the ghost of Julius Cæsar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin, and Monica his mother, had visions in order to his conversion. And though these, and many others (too many to name) have but the authority of human story, yet the incredible reader may find in the sacred story, 1 (*Sam. xxviii.*) that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death (whether really or not, I undertake not to determine). And Bildad, in the book of *Job*, (*chap. iv.*) says these words; “ A spirit passed before my face, the hair of my head
“ stood

“flood up, fear and trembling came upon me, and made all my bones to “shake.” Upon which words I will make no comment, but leave them to be considered by the incredulous reader, to whom I will also commend this following consideration:—That there be many pious and learned men that believe our merciful God hath assigned to every man a particular guardian angel^o, to be his constant monitor, and to attend him in all his dangers both of body and soul. And the opinion, that every man hath his particular angel, may gain some authority by the relation of St. Peter’s miraculous deliverance out of prison (*Acts* .xii.) ; not by many, but by one Angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit, by the reader’s considering, that when Peter after his enlargement knocked at the door of Mary the mother of John, and Rode the maid-servant being surpris’d with joy that Peter was there, did not let him in, but ran in haste and told the disciples (who were then and there met together) that Peter was at the door, and they not believing it, said she was mad; yet when she again affirmed it, though they believed it not, yet they concluded and said—“It is his angel.”

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief; but I forbear, lest I, that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged person for the proving what was related to me; and yet I think myself bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself, it was told me (now long since) by a person of honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul, than any person then living; and I think he told me the truth: for it was told with such circumstances and such asseveration, that (to say nothing of my own thoughts) I verily believe he that told it me did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader’s farther trouble, as to the relation and what concerns it, and will conclude mine with commending to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time that he then parted from her: And I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry, say, that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

V A L E-

^o Of the very probable truth of this proposition, so pleasing to all good men, see *Bishop Bull’s Sermons*, vol. II. p. 498.

A VALEDICTION,

FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

As virtuous men pass mildly away,
And whisper to their souls to go,
Whilst some of their sad friends do say,
The breath goes now; and some say—No:

So let us melt and make no noise;
No wind-fights or tear-floods us move,
'Twere profanation of our joys
To tell the laity our love.

Movings of the earth cause harms and fears;
Men reckon what they did or meant;
But trepidation of the spheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers' love
(Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
Absence; because that doth remove
Those things that elemented it.

But we by a soul so much refin'd,
That our souls know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
Care not hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

Our two souls therefore, which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to airy thinness beat.

If we be two? we are two so
As stiff twin-compasses are two:
'Thy soul, the fix'd foot, makes no show
To move, but does if th' other do.

And though thine in the centre sit,
 Yet, when my other far does roam,
 Thine leans and hearkens after it,
 And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such thou must be to me, who must,
 Like th' other foot, obliquely run :
 Thy firmness makes my circle just,
 And me to end where I begun.

I return from my account of the vision, to tell the reader, that both before Mr. Donne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return, many of the nobility and others, that were powerful at court, were watchful and solicitous to the king for some secular employment for him. The king had formerly both known and put a value upon his company; and had also given him some hopes of a state-employment, being always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals", where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly disputes or debates of religion betwixt his majesty and those divines whose places required their attendance on him at those times; particularly

^p James I. took great pleasure in the conversation of those divines who attended his Court. It was usual with him, particularly at his meals, to discourse with them, as well upon the controversial points of religion, as upon various topics of literature. In the dedication of "An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland, 1624," to the King, the celebrated author, having preferred him to the Emperor Theodosius the younger, and to Alexius, thus addresses his Majesty. "It is acknowledged, even by such as differ from you in the point of religion, as a matter that hath added more than ordinary lustre to your royal estate, that *you doe not forbear so much as at the time of your bodily repast to have, for the then like feeding of your intellectual part, your highness's table surrounded with the attendance and conference of your grave and learned divines.* What inward joy my heart conceived as oft as I have had the happiness to be present at such seasons, I forbear to utter, onely I will say with Job, *the eare which heard you blessed you, and the eye which saw you gave witness to you.*" Dr. Joseph Hall in his Holy Panegyric hath drawn a parallel between the Roman Emperor Constantine and King James. "Constantine sate in the midst of Bishops, as if he was one of them. King James, besides his solemn conferences, vouchsafes not seldom to spend his meals in discourse with his bishops and other worthy divines." (*Bishop Hall's Works, p. 444.*)

ticularly the Dean of the Chapel, who then was Bishop Montague⁹ (the publisher of the learned and eloquent works^r of his majesty), and the most

M 2

reverend

⁹ The fifth son to Sir Edward Montague, and brother to Edward the first Lord Montague of Broughton, eminent for his learning and liberality, and usually called "King James's ecclesiastical Favourite." He published his Majesty's works under this title: "King James's Works, published by James, Bishop of Winton, and Deane of his Majesty's Chappel Royal. 1 Reg. III. 12 v. *Loe I have given thee a wife and an understanding heart.* London 1616." He afterward translated them into Latin. He died in 1618, having been Bishop of Winchester only two years. He was buried in the Abbey church of Bath, which, while he filled the see of Bath and Wells, he repaired and beautified at a great expence, having been excited to this act of munificence in the following manner: When he held his primary visitation in the church of Bath, the business being done and the benediction given, Sir John Harrington stood up in the midst of the congregation and addressed his lordship in a Latin poem on the ruinous state of the buildings of the church, and concluded with a prophecy of its future flourishing and beautiful condition under the auspices of the bishop.

Te nempe ad decus hoc peperit Natura ; replevit
Dotibus eximiis Deus : Ars perfecta polivit :
In gremio refovet ter magni gratia regis
Ditavitque bonis tanta ad molimina natis.
Huc tua te virtus, forte ancillante, propellit,
Euge ; opus hoc miræ pietatis perfice.

The Bishop, so far from being displeased at this bold and unusual address, answered it in a short Latin speech, and promised to restore the cathedral.

^r How far the works of this royal author deserve the epithets here bestowed upon them, I venture not to decide. "The Dæmonologie" and "The Counterblast to Tobacco" do not excite very flattering sentiments of his literary acquirements. Quotations, puns, scripture, witticisms, superstition, oaths, vanity, prerogative, and pedantry are affirmed by the writer of The Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors to be the ingredients of all his sacred majesty's performances. (*Vol. I. p. 41.*)—Yet the incense of praise and adulation was liberally offered to him, both in his life-time and after his death. Ben Jonson, in an epigram, commends James as "best of kings and best of poets." One of the most learned divines of his time declares the king's Paraphrase upon the Revelation of St. John, which he is said to have written before he was twenty years of age, to be a memorable monument left to all posterity, *which I can never looke upon, but those verses of the poet runne alwaies in my minde.*

Cæsaribus virtus contigit ante diem :
Ingenium cœleste suis velocius annis
Surgit, et ignavæ fert mala damna moræ.

reverend Dr. Andrews^s, the late learned Bishop of Winchester, who was then the king's Almoner.

About this time there grew many disputes that concerned the Oath of Supremacy

^s Of this great divine Casaubon thus speaks, "De cujus altâ doctrinâ in omni genere disciplinarum quicquid dixero minus erit." In him were eminently united those qualities, which seldom meet in one man, "Scientia magna, memoria major, judicium maximum, at "industria infinita." He is said to have possessed a critical and accurate knowledge of at least fifteen modern tongues. Hence, no one was better qualified to be one of the translators of the Bible in the reign of King James. Lord Clarendon entertained so favourable an opinion of him, as to declare, That "if Andrews, who loved and understood the church, had succeeded Bancroft in the see of Canterbury, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled." (*History of the Rebellion*, b. I. p. 88. Edit. 1721.) Amongst Milton's juvenile poems is an elegy on the death of Bishop Andrews. To his patronage the venerable Joseph Mede owed his success in being elected into a fellowship of Christ's College, Cambridge. And it should be always mentioned to his honour, that it was usual with him to send for men of note, that he thought wanted preferment, and to give them prebends and benefices under seal before they knew of it. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the case of Mr. Bois, on whom he conferred a prebend of Ely unasked for. He was sent for to London by the bishop. When he had given him, as we commonly say, joy of it (which was his first salutation at his coming to him), he told him, "that he did bestow it freely on him, without any one moving him thereto; though (said he) some pick-thanks will be saying, they stood your friends herein." Which prediction proved very true. (*Peck's Desiderata curiosa*, b. VIII. p. 50.)—Fuller observes of him, that "the fathers are not more faithfully cited in his book, than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing King James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself." Of his writings perhaps the most known and the most useful is his Manual of Devotions, composed in Greek and Latin for his own private use, and rendered into English by Dean Stanhope. For some time before his death the manuscript was scarce ever out of his hands. It was found worn in pieces by his fingers, and wet with his tears. A late editor of these devotions thus concludes his advertisement to the reader. "When thou hast bought the book, enter into thy closet and shut the door; pray with Bishop Andrews for one week, and he will be thy companion for the residue of thy years; he will be pleasant in thy life, and at the hour of death he will not forsake thee."—"Who," saith Bishop Gauden, "hath more ampler and completeness for a good Man, a good Bishop, a good Christian, a good Scholar, a good Preacher, and a good Counsellor, than Bishop Andrews, a man of an astonishing excellency both at home and abroad." (*Lloyd's State Worthies*, p. 1016.)

Supremacy and Allegiance¹, in which the king had appeared and engaged himself by his public writings now extant. And his majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them; and having done that, not to send but be his own messenger and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and within six weeks brought them to him, under his own hand-writing, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of "Pseudo-Martyr²," printed anno 1610.

When the king had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry; to which at that time he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it (such was his mistaken modesty) to be too weighty for his abilities: And though his majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth meditated with his majesty for some secular employment for him (to which his education had apted him), and particularly the Earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who

¹ "Then I say did his majesty shew this Christian courage of his more manifestly, when he sent the profession of his religion, "The Apology of the Oath of Allegiance," and his opinion of the Roman Antichrist, in all languages to all Princes of Christendom. By occasion of which book, though there have risen twenty Rabshakes, who have railed against our God, in railing against our religion; and twenty Shemeis, who have railed against the person of his sacred majesty—for I may pronounce that the number of them who have barked and snarled at that book in writing is scarce less than forty);—yet scarce one of them all hath undertaken the arguments of that book, but either repeated, and perchance enlarged those things, which their own authors had shovelled together of that subject (that is, the Pope's temporal power); or else they have bent themselves maliciously, insolently, sacrilegiously against the person of his majesty; and the Pope may be Antichrist still, for any thing they have said to the contrary."

(*Dr. Donne's Sermon at Paul's Cross, March 24, 1616.*)

² "Wherein this conclusion is evicted, that those who are of the Roman religion in this kingdom, may or ought to take the oath of allegiance, 1610." In this year Dr. Donne was incorporated M. A. in the University of Oxford, having already been admitted to that degree at Cambridge.

who being then at Theobald's^x with the king, where one of the clerks of the council died that night; the earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and, at Mr. Donne's coming, said, "Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till I go up to the king and bring you word that you are clerk of the council: Doubt not my doing this, for I know the king loves you, and know the king will not deny me."—But the king gave a positive denial to all requests; and, having a discerning spirit, replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned divine, and will prove a powerful preacher, and my desire is to prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him." After that time, as he professeth in his Book of Devotions, "The King descended to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation, of him to enter into sacred orders;" which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years^z. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of textual divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In

* The house at Theobald's, near Waltham in Essex, was built by the Lord High Treasurer Burghley, in the reign of Elizabeth. "A place, than which, as to the fabric, nothing can be more neat, and as to the gardens, walks, and wildernesses about it, nothing can be more pleasant." James I. was so much delighted with its situation, that he gave the manor of *Hatfield Regis* in exchange for it to Lord Cecil, afterward created Earl of Salisbury. He died at this his favourite palace, March 27, 1627. This noble and beautiful edifice was plundered and destroyed by the Rebels in 1651.

^y Walton probably alludes to the following passage in the dedication of Donne's Book of Devotions. "To the most excellent Prince, Prince Charles. Most excellent Prince, I have had three births; one natural, when I came into the world; one supernatural, when I entered into the ministry; and now a preternatural birth in returning to life from this sickness: In my second birth your highness's royal father vouchsafed me his hand, not onely to sustaine me in it, but to lead me to it."

^z Mr. Granger quotes a passage from Dr. Barwick's life of Bishop Morton, relating to Donne, that he (Barwick) saw a portrait of Donne at Lincoln's Inn, all enveloped with a darkish shadow, his face and features hardly discernible, with this ejaculation and wish written thereon: "Domine, illumina tenebras meas;" and that this wish was afterward accomplished, when at the persuasion of King James he entered into holy orders.

(*Biogr. Hist.* vol. II.)

In the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of virtue, by a blessed patience and long-suffering; 'those only were then judged worthy the ministry, whose quiet and meek spirits did make them look upon that sacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires such great degrees of *humility*, and *labour*, and *care*, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity; and such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, because forwardness and inconsideration could not in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unsuitness; for he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself, concerning the strictness of life and competency of learning required in such as enter into sacred orders; and doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul, "Lord, who is sufficient for these things?" and with meek Moses, "Lord, who am I?" And sure, if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him as the Angel did with Jacob, *and marked him*; marked him for his own; marked him with a blessing, a blessing of obedience to the motions of his blessed spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, "Who am I?" So now, being inspired with an apprehension of God's particular mercy to him in the king's and others' solicitations of him, he came to ask King David's thankful question, "Lord, who am I, that thou art so mindful of me?" So mindful of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderness of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life; so merciful to me, as to move the learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve

* A reader, who hath considered with attention the history of Moses, as recorded in the sacred writings, will not easily acknowledge the propriety of applying the quality of *meekness* to this great leader of the Israelites. He seems rather to have been susceptible of a warmth of temper. Hence Dr. Kennicott, following the version of a learned foreign professor, proposes a slight alteration of a word in the original, and gives a sense entirely different from that, in which the passage, (*Numb. xii. 3.*) has been commonly explained, and more consistent with the character of Moses. "He was highly favoured with answers (from God) "above all the men which were upon the face of the earth."

(See Kennicott's Remarks on Select Passages, &c. p. 57.)

serve at the altar; so merciful to me, as at last to move my heart to embrace this holy motion:—Thy motions I will and do embrace:—And now I say with the blessed Virgin, “Be it with thy servant as seemeth best in thy fight;” and so, blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of salvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy gospel^b.

Such strifes as these St. Austine^c had, when St. Ambrose^d endeavoured his conversion to Christianity, with which he confesseth he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author (a man fit to write after no mean copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then Bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne’s abilities,—(for he had been chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne’s being his lordship’s secretary);—that reverend man did receive the news with much gladness; and, after some expressions of joy, and a persuasion to be constant in his pious purpose, he proceeded with all convenient speed, to ordain him first deacon, and then priest not long after^e.

Now

^b These just and exquisitely beautiful reflections affix infinite credit equally to Dr. Donne and to his Biographer. Is it not devoutly to be wished that they were deeply imprinted on the minds of every candidate for holy orders?

^c Augustin, the famous Bishop of Hippo, and usually called “the great Doctor of Africa,” was born in 359, and died in 430. The carelessness and levity of the earlier period of his life were in some measure compensated by the unbounded charity, the piety and zeal which he displayed after his conversion to the true faith. This conversion is attributed partly to the affecting discourses of St. Ambrose, whose lectures he was induced to attend through mere curiosity, and partly to the tears and tender entreaties of his mother Monica. He hath so freely acknowledged and censured the impropriety of his former conduct, in his books of Confessions, that it is justly deemed “tyranny to trample on him that prostrates himself.” Erasmus, who hath written his life, exhibits him as the most finished pattern of goodness—“quasi Deus voluerit in Augustino tanquam in una tabula vividum quoddam exemplar” “Episcopi representare omnibus virtutum numeris absolutum.”

^d Bishop of Milan, from the persuasive powers of his eloquence, and the charming sweetness of his language, called “the Mellifluous Doctor.” The effects which his discourses produced on St. Augustin are described in *Confessionum*, lib. v. cap. 14.

^e He had bid farewell to poetry the year before; his last poem being written upon the death of Lord Harrington, a nobleman of extraordinary piety and learning.

Now the English Church had gained a second St. Austin, for I think none was so like him before his conversion; none so like St. Ambrose after it: And if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holiness of both.

And now all his studies, which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentrated in divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence. Now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own soul were engaged in the conversion of others;—in preaching the glad tidings of remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence: And now such a change was wrought in him that he could say with David, “O how amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord God of Hosts!” Now he declared openly, “That when he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual blessing.” And that “He was now gladder to be a door-keeper in the house of God than he could be to enjoy the noblest of all temporal employments.”

Presently after he entered into his holy profession, the king sent for him, and made him his chaplain in ordinary, and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality was such as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modesty in this employment was such that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend, to preach privately in some village not far from London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington: This he did till his majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and though much was expected from him, both by his majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfy and exceed their expectations; preaching the word so as shewed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others: A preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives: Here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it, and a virtue

so as to make it be beloved even by those that loved it not, and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think (such indeed as have not heard him), that my affection to my friend hath transported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching: If this meets with any such, let me intreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say, it being attested by a gentleman of worth, (Mr. Chidley^f, a frequent hearer of his sermons) in part of a funeral elegy wrote by him on Dr. Donne; and is a known truth though it be in verse.

—————Each altar had his fire—————
 He kept his love but not his object. Wit
 He did not banish, but transplanted it;
 Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
 To PIETY, which it doth best become.
 For say, had ever pleasure such a dress?
 Have you seen crimes so shap'd, or loveliness
 Such as his lips did clothe religion in?
 Had not reproof a beauty passing sin?
 Corrupted Nature sorrow'd that she stood
 So near the danger of becoming good.
 And when he preach'd she wish'd her ears exempt
 From PIETY that had such power to tempt.
 How did his sacred flatt'ry beguile
 Men to amend?—————

More of this, and more witnesses might be brought, but I forbear and return^g.

That

^f Rather Mr Chudleigh:—John Chudleigh, M. A. of Wadham College in Oxford, and the eldest son of Sir George Chudleigh, Bart. of Alston in Devonshire.

^g The character of Dr. Donne's Sermons is faithfully delineated by his son in the Dedication of them to Charles I. "They who have been conversant in the works of the holiest
 "men of all times, cannot but acknowledge in these the same spirit with which they writ;
 "reasonable demonstrations every where in the subjects, comprehensible by reason: As for
 "these things which cannot be comprehended by our reason alone, they are no where made
 "easier

That summer, in the very same month in which he entered into sacred orders and was made the King's Chaplain, his majesty then going his progress,

"easier to faith than here; and for the other part of our nature, which consists in our passions; and in our affections, they are here raised and laid, and governed and disposed, in a manner; according to the will of the author. The doctrine itself which is taught here is primitively Christian; the fathers are every where consulted with reverence, but apostolical writings only appealed to as the last Rule of Faith. Lastly, such is the conjuncture here of zeal and discretion, that whilst it is the main scope of the author in these Discourses, that glory be given to God, this is accompanied every where with a scrupulous care and endeavour, that peace be likewise settled amongst men."

The two following extracts will enable the reader to form a judgment of Dr. Donne's style and mode of writing:

—"It is not enough not to trust in flesh, but thou must trust in that that is spirit. And when thou art to direct thy trust upon him who is spirit, the spirit of power and of consolation, stop not, stray not, divert not upon evil spirits to seek advancement or to seek knowledge from them, nor upon good spirits, the glorious saints of God in heaven, to seek salvation from them, nor upon thine own spirit, in an over-valuation of thy purity or thy merits. For there is a pestilent pride in an imaginary humility, and an infectious foulness in an imaginary purity; but turne onely to the onely invisible and immortall God, who turnes to thee in so many names and notions of power and consolation in this one psalme, (*Pf. lxxii.*). In last verse but one of this psalme David sayes, *God hath spoken once, and twice have I heard him.* God hath said enough, but twice in this psalme hath he repeated this, in the second and in the sixth verse, *He onely is my rocke, and my salvation, and my defence.* And, as it is enlarged in the seventh verse, *my refuge and my glory.* If my *refuge*,—what enemy can pursue me? If my *defence*,—what temptation shall wound me? If my *rocke*, what storme shall shake me? If my *salvation*,—what melancholy shall deject me? If my *glory*,—what calumny shall defame me?"

"I must not stay you now, to infuse into you the severall consolations of these severall names and notions of God towards you. But goe your severall wayes home, and every foule take with him that name, which may minister most comfort unto him. Let him that is pursued with any particular temptation, invest God, as God is a *refuge*, a sanctuary. Let him that is buffeted with the messenger of Satan, battered with his own concupiscence, receive God, as God is his *defence* and target. Let him that is shaken with perplexities in his understanding or scruples in his conscience lay hold upon God, as God is his *rocke* and his anchor. Let him that hath any dissident jealousy or suspicion of the free and full mercy of God apprehend God, as God is his *salvation*. And him that walks in the ingloriousness and contempt of this world contemplate God, as God is his *glory*. Any of these notions is
"enough"

grefs was entreated to receive an entertainment in the university of Cambridge; and Mr. Donne attending his majesty at that time, his majesty was

“enough to any man, but God is all these and all else that all soules can thinke, to every man. Wee shut up both these considerations (man should not (that is not all), God should be relied upon) with that of the Prophet *Trust ye not in a friend, put not your confidence in a guide, keepe the doores of thy mouth from her that lies in thy bosome* (there is the exclusion of trust in man): And then he adds in the seventh verse, because it stands thus between man and man, *I will looke unto the Lord, I will looke unto the God of my salvation, my God will heare me.*” (LXXX Sermons, 1640, p. 662.)

———“Now to make up a circle, by returning to our first word, remember: As we remember God, so for his sake let us remember one another. In my long absence and far distance from hence remember me, as I shall do you in the ears of that God to whom the farthest east and the farthest west are but as the right and the left ear in one of us; we hear with both at once, and he hears in both at once; remember me, not my abilities, for when I consider my Apostleship that I was sent to you, I am in St. Paul’s *quorum, quorum ego sum minimus*, the least of them that have been sent; and when I consider my infirmities, I am in his *quorum* in another commission, another way, *quorum ego maximus*, the greatest of them; but remember my labors and endeavours, at least my desire to make sure your salvation. And I shall remember your religious cheerfulness in hearing the word, and your christianly respect towards all them that bring that word unto you, and towards myself in particular far above my merit. And so as your eyes that stay here and mine that must be far of, for all that distance shall meet every morning in looking upon that same sun, and meet every night in looking upon the same moon; so our hearts may meet morning and evening in that God which sees and hears every where; that you may come thither to him with your prayers, that I (if I may be of use for his glory and your edification in this place) may be restored to you again; and may come to him with my prayer, that what Paul soever plant amongst you, or what Apollos soever water, God himself will give the increase: That if I never meet you again till we have all passed the gate of death, yet in the gates of heaven I may meet you all, and there say to my Saviour and your Saviour, that which he said to his father, *Of those whom thou hast given me have I not lost one.*” Remember me thus, you that stay in this kingdome of peace, where no sword is drawn but the sword of justice, as I shall remember you in those kingdomes, where ambition on one side and a necessary defence from unjust persecution on the other side hath drawn many swords; and Christ Jesus remember us all in his kingdome; to which though we must sail through a sea, it is the sea of his blood, where no soul suffers shipwreck; though we must be blown with strange winds, with sighs and groans for our sins, yet it is the spirit of God that blows all this wind, and shall blow away all contrary winds of diffidence or distrust

“in

was pleased to recommend him to the university to be made Doctor in Divinity: Dr. Harfnett^b (after archbishop of York) was then Vice-Chancellor, who, knowing him to be the author of that learned book the "Pseudo-Martyr," required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the university, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs¹.

His

"in God's mercy; where we shall be all souldiers of one army, the Lord of Hostes, and children of one quire, the God of harmony and consent: where all clients shall retain but one counsellor, our advocate Christ Jesus, nor present him any other fee but his own blood, and yet every client have a judgment on his side, not only in a not guilty, in the remission of his sins, but in a *venite benedicti*, in being called to the participation of an immortal crown of glory: where there shall be no difference in affection nor in mind, but we shall agree as fully and perfectly in our *allelujah* and *gloria in excelsis* as God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, agreed in the *faciamus hominem* at first; where we shall end and yet begin but then; where we shall have continuall rest, and yet never grow lazie; where we shall be stronger to resist and yet have no enemy; where we shall live and never die, where we shall meet and never part."

(*A Sermon of Valediction at his going into Germany, at Lincolne's Inn, April 18, 1619.*
Donne's Sermons, vol. III. p. 280, 281.

^b Dr. Samuel Harfnett, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, was Vice-chancellor of that University in 1605 and in 1614, successively Bishop of Chichester and of Norwich, and Archbishop of York. He died March 12, 1630. Strictness to historic truth precludes us from passing over in silence an unfortunate circumstance of his life, viz. his expulsion from the Mastership of Pembroke-Hall, for several practices exhibited against him in fifty seven Articles; all of which are said to have been so flagrant, that he chose rather to resign his Mastership than to undergo an inquiry. But as the purport of these Articles is unknown, and the nature of the charge brought against him has never been ascertained, we remain in doubt what degree of censure he deserved. The inscription on his tomb was evidently penned by himself. "Hic jacet Samuel Harfnett, quondam Vicarius hujus Ecclesiæ, primo indignus Episcopus Ciceſtrienſis, dein indignior Norviciensis, demum indignissimus Archiepiscopus."

¹ A different account of this matter is given in two letters of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton. In one dated March 16, 1614, he writes, "I had almost forgotten that almost all the Courtiers went forth Masters of Arts, at the King's being there; but few or no Doctors, save only *Younge*; which was done by a mandate, being son to Sir *Peter*, the king's

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him; but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life: But an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge his wife died^k, leaving him a man of a narrow unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave^l, and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In

“king's schoolmaster: The Vice-Chancellor and University were exceeding strict in that point, and refused many importunities of great men; among whom was Mr. Secretary, that made great means for Mr. Westfield; but it would not be: neither the King's intreaty for *John Dun* would prevail; yet they are threatened with a mandate, which, if it is come, it is like they will obey; but they are resolved to give him such a blow withal, that he were better be without it.”

And in another letter of nearly the same date: “*John Donne* and one *Cheke* went out Doctors at Cambridge with much ado, after our coming away, by the King's express mandate; though the Vice-Chancellor and some of the heads called them openly ‘*Filios noctis et tenebriones*,’ that sought thus to come in at the window, when there was a fair gate open. But the worst is, that *Donne* had gotten a reversion of the Deanery of Canterbury, if such grants could be lawful; whereby he hath purchased himself a great deal of envy, that a man of his sort should seek, *per saltum*, to intercept such a place from so many more worthy and antient divines.”

^k Mrs. Donne died August 15, 1617, on the seventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the parish church of St. Clement's near Temple Bar.

^l It appears that Nicholas Stone, a noted statuary in the reign of James I. made a tomb for Mrs. Donne, to be placed in the church of St. Clement Danes, for the which he had fifteen Pieces. (*Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, &c. vol. II. p. 44.*) The following is the inscription on her tomb;

ANNÆ

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became crucified to the world, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures that are daily acted on that restless stage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being passions may be both changed and heightened by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes and the companion of his youth; her, with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and contented fears, as common-people are not capable of; not hard to think but that she, being now removed by death, a commensurable grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done, and so indeed it did; for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness, now grief took so full a possession of his heart,

as

ANNÆ

GEORGII	}	{	More de	}	{	Filiæ,
ROBERTI			Lothesley			Sorori,
WILIELMI			Equitum			Nepti,
CHRISTOPHERI			Aurator.			Pronepti

Fœminæ lectissimæ, dilectissimæque,
 Conjugi charissimæ, castissimæque,
 Matri piissimæ, indulgentissimæque,
 XV annis in conjugio transactis,
 VII post XII partum (quorum VII
 Superstant) dies

Immani febre correptæ
 (Quod hoc saxum fari jussit
 Ipse præ dolore infans)
 Maritus (miserrimum dictu) olim
 Charæ charus

Cineribus cineres spondet suos
 Novo matrimonio (annuat Deus) hoc
 Loco sociandos

JOANNES DONNE

Sacræ Theologiæ Professor.

Secessit

Anno XXXIII Ætat. suæ et sui Jesu

CIC. DC. XVII.

Aug. XV.

(*Strype's Stow's Survey of London, 1720, vol. II. b. 4, p. 113.*)

as to leave no place for joy; if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where like a *pelican in the wilderness*, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction, "Oh that I might have the desire of my heart! Oh that God would grant the thing that I long for!" For then, *as the grave is become her house*, so I would hasten to make it mine also, *that we two might there make our beds together in the dark*^m. Thus as the Israelites sat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sionⁿ; so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows: Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued till a consideration of his new engagements to God and St. Paul's "Wo is me, if I preach not the gospel," dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach, where his beloved wife lay buried (in St. Clement's Church, near Temple-Bar, London,) and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremiah's Lamentation: "Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction°."

And

^m This expression of Donne's grief reminds us of the wretched Romeo's words:

—————"I will stay with thee;
"And never from this palace of dim night
"Depart again: here will I remain
"With worms, that are thy chamber-maids."

(*Romeo and Juliet*, Act V. Scene III.)

In similar language Theseus laments the death of Phædra:

Το κατὰ γὰρ βελῶ, το κατὰ γὰρ κρηφας,
Μετοικειν σκοτω θανων ο τλημων,
Της σης σερηβεις φιλτατης ομιλιας.

(*Euripid. Hippolytus*, v. 851.)

ⁿ Psalm cxxxvii. Dr. Donne translated this psalm into English verse.

° LAMENTATIONS, iii. 1.

"I am the man which have affliction scene,
"Under the rod of God's wrath having been;
"He hath led mee to darknesse, not to light,
"And against mee all day his hand doth fight."

DONNE.

During this time of distress he was probably engaged in his Poetic Version of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, following for the most part the translation of Tremellius.

And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness^p, and so they left the congregation; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, (who were once the companions and friends of his youth) to accept of their lecture, which, by reason of Dr. Gataker's^q removal from thence, was then void; of which he accepted, being most glad to renew his

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intermitted.

^p His eloquence in the pulpit is thus described in Darnelly's Latin Poem :

— " vidi,
 " Audivi, et stupui, quoties orator in æde
 " Paulinâ stetit, et mirâ gravitate levantes
 " Corda oculosque viros tenuit : dum Nestoris ille
 " Fudit verba (omni quanto magis dulcia melle?)
 " Nunc habet attonitos, pandit mysteria plebi
 " Non concessa prius, nondum intellecta : revolvunt
 " Mirantes, tacitique, arrestis auribus astant.
 " Mutatis mox ille modo formæque loquendi
 " Tristitia pertraçat : Fatumque et flebile mortis
 " Tempus, et in cineres redeunt quod corpora primos.
 " Tum gemitum cunctos dare, tunc lugere videres,
 " Forsitan a Lachrymis aliquis non temperat, atque
 " Ex oculis largum stillat rorem."

^q Mr. Thomas Gataker, a solid, judicious, and truly pious divine, highly esteemed by Salma-
 sius and other learned foreigners, was the author of a treatise once much read "Of the Nature
 and Use of Lots," &c. and was justly celebrated for his critical knowledge of the Greek and
 Hebrew languages. Being one of the Assembly of Divines appointed by Parliament in 1642,
 he conducted himself in that department with singular prudence and moderation. In the
 Assembly's Annotations on the Bible he executed with uncommon ability that division which
 included Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations. His Explication of Jeremiah x. 12, subjected
 him to the severe castigations of the famous astrologer William Lilly, against whom he wrote
 "A Discourse Apologetical, wherein Lilie's lewd and loud lies in his Merlin or Pasquil for
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intermitted friendship with those whom he so much loved, and where he had been a Saul, though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the visible practice of it; there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a *shining light* among his old friends, now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it; now he might say as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, "Be ye followers of me, as I follow Christ, and walk as ye have me for an example." Not the example of a busy-body, but of a contemplative, a harmless, a humble, and a holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble society was expressed to him many ways; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him with all necessaries, other courtesies were also daily added; indeed so many, and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits: And in this love-strife of desert and liberality, they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperor of Germany died, and the Palgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth, the King's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia; the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation¹.

King James, whose motto² (*Beati pacifici*) did truly speak the very thoughts

the year 1654, are clearly laid open, &c." His house bore the resemblance of a college, where many young men, foreigners as well as natives, continually attended to receive instructions from his lectures. The most approved of his works are "A Dissertation upon the Style of the New Testament." "A Traët de Nomine tetragrammato—Adversaria Miscellanea." Prefixed to this last work, published by his son, is his own life, written by himself.

¹ Upon the death of the Emperor Matthias, his nephew Ferdinand, who succeeded him in the imperial dignity, caused himself to be proclaimed King of Bohemia. The States of Bohemia considering their crown as elective made a tender of it to Frederic, Elector Palatine, son-in-law to the King of England, who immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia in support of his new subjects.

² James was not aware of Queen Elizabeth's maxim, or at least he was not desirous of practising it, that "the people of England are more governable in times of war than in times of
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thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose the discords of that discomposed state; and amongst other his endeavours, did then send the Lord Hay^t, Earl of Doncaster, his Ambassador to those unsettled princes; and by a special command from his majesty, Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the princes of the Union; for which the earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse: And his friends of Lincoln's Inn were as glad; for they feared that his immoderate study, and sadness for his wife's death, would, as Jacob said, "Make his days few," and respecting his bodily health, "evil" too; and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going^u he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him with many reluctations; for though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, "Behold you to whom I have preached the kingdom of God shall from henceforth see my face no more;" yet, he believing himself to be in a consumption questioned, and they feared it; all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body: But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best; for this employment (to say nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life, by a true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured mistress, the

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Queen

of peace." Yet, notwithstanding his well-known pacific disposition, the adulation of a Scotch poet (Alexander Boyde) hath compared him to Minerva for his wisdom, and to "Mars for his warlike qualities."

Primus in orbe Deus, qui jungis Pallada Marti,
Et facis ut titulis cedat uterque tuis.

^t Of whom see Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 61, 8vo edit. 1705.

^u He thus mentions his journey in a Latin letter to Sir Henry Goodyere. "Elucescit mihi nova nec inopportuna nec inutilis (paulo quam optaram fortassis magis inhonora) occasio exera visendi regna, liberosque perquam amantissimæ conjugis pignora cæteraque hujus auræ oblectamenta aliquot ad annos relinquendi." Upon this occasion he preached a Sermon of valediction at Lincoln's Inn, April 18, 1619, from whence an extract is inserted in a preceding note.

Queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation, and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him: Who, having formerly known him a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching*. About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated and his health improved, and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Carey^y was made Bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the king sent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his majesty was sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said after his pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner, and though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you."

Immediately

* This unfortunate princess from her amiable and engaging manners was called "The Queen of Hearts."—"God hath now at last cast her into an ocean of calamities, in which she still remains a floating example to other princes of the instability of fortune, as she did in her prosperity, of civility and goodness." (*Osborne.*)—In Dr. Donne's Poems is an epithalamium or marriage-song on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine being married on St. Valentine's Day, beginning thus:

"Hail Bishop Valentine, whose day is this,
 "All the aire is thy diocis,
 "And all the chirping choristers
 "And other birds are thy parishioners,
 "Thou marryest every yeare
 "The lirieque larke, and the grave whispering dove,
 "The sparrow that neglects his life for love,
 "The household bird, with the red stomacher.

^y Valentine Carey, Master of Christ's College in Cambridge, and Dean of St. Paul's, is said to have been born in Northumberland. He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, Nov. 20, 1620, and having well governed this church about six years, he died June 10, 1626.

Immediately after he came to his deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel, suffering, as holy David once vowed, "His eyes and temples to take no rest till he had first beautified the house of God."

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George Moor (whom time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive it, and said, as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive, "*It is enough*; you have been kind to me and mine; I know your present condition is such as not to abound, and I hope mine is or will be such as not to need it; I will therefore receive no more from you upon that contract," and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his deanery, the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West^a, London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White^a, the advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend, Richard Earl of Dorset^b, then the patron, and confirmed

^a Isaac Walton, our biographer, was an inhabitant of this parish, and thus became intimately acquainted with Dr. Donne.

^a Dr. Thomas White, much admired as a preacher, died March 1, 1623, and was buried in his chancel of the church of St. Dunstan in the West. Having founded a lecture in moral philosophy at Oxford, and being also distinguished for many other charitable benefactions, the heads of the university directed an oration to be publicly delivered, on occasion of his death, by William Price, the first reader of that lecture. This oration, with several copies of verses written upon the same subject, was printed under the title of "*Schola moralis Philosophiæ Oxon. in funère Whiti pullata. Oxon. 1624,*" 4to. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

^b "*Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.*"

HOR.

The character of this nobleman, Richard (Sackville) Earl of Dorset, the friend and patron of Dr. Donne, is thus delineated by the pen of his lady, Anne, daughter and heir of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the manuscript which she has left, containing the history of her life. "He was," says she, "in his own nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant in his own person: He had a great advantage in his breeding by the wisdom and discretion of his grandfather, Thomas Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England, who was then held one of the wisest men of that time; by which means he was

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confirmed by his brother, the late deceased Edward^c, both of them men of much honour.

By these, and another ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous, as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen Prolocutor^d to the Convocation, and about that time was appointed by his majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross and other places; all which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He

“so good a scholar in all manner of learning, that in his youth when he lived in the university of Oxford, there was none of the young nobility then students there, that excelled him. He was also a good patriot to his country, and generally well beloved in it, much esteemed in all the parliaments that sat in his time; and so great a lover of scholars and soldiers, as that with an excessive bounty towards them, or indeed any of worth that were in distress, he did much diminish his estate: As also, with excessive prodigality in house-keeping and other noble ways at court, as tilting, masking, and the like; Prince Henry being then alive, who was much addicted to those noble exercises, and of whom he was much beloved.” (*Collins's Peerage*, vol. II. p. 194, 195.)

^c This nobleman, Edward (Sackville) Earl of Dorset, was entrusted with the command of the English forces which were sent to the assistance of the King of Bohemia in 1620; and in the next year was appointed Ambassador to the court of France. Of the melancholy catastrophe of a duel with his intimate friend Lord Bruce, see *the Guardians*, No. 129, 133. During the civil wars he distinguished himself by his loyalty to Charles I. with whose death he was so deeply affected, that after that event he never went out of his own house. He died July 17, 1652.

^d On this occasion he spoke a Latin oration as his inauguration speech, which is extant in his “Poems, &c. 8vo, London, 1719.” Dr. Joseph Hall preached the Latin sermon on the opening of this Convocation, which was held in 1624, and in which large subsidies were granted by the clergy to the king.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the king's displeasure, and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the king's inclining to Popery, and a dislike of his government, and particularly for the king's then turning the Evening Lectures into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief and Commandments. His majesty was the more inelineable to believe this, for that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court (I shall forbear his name unless I had a fairer occasion), and justly committed to prison, which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise unless they be busy about what they understand not, and especially about religion.

The king received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt, but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation, which was so clear and satisfactory, that the king said "He was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion." When the king had said this, Dr. Donne kneeled down and thanked his majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion, and therefore "desired that he might not rise, till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he might have from his majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion." At which the king raised him from his knees with his own hands, and "protested he believed him, and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly." And having thus dismissed him, he called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness "My Doctor is an honest man; and my lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now made me; and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a divine."

He was made dean in the fiftieth year of his age, and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a consumption. But God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, *preserved his spirit*, and kept

kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect as when that sickness first seized his body; but it continued long and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend, Dr. Henry King (then chief Residentiary of that church, and late Bishop of Chichester), a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily, and observing that his sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him to this purpose:

“ Mr. Dean, I am by your favour no stranger to your temporal estate, and you are no stranger to the offer lately made us, for the renewing a lease of the best prebends corps belonging to our church, and you know it was denied, for that our tenant being very rich offered to fine at so low a rate as held not proportion with his advantages; but I will either raise him to an higher sum, or procure that the other residentiaries shall join to accept of what was offered: One of these I can and will by your favour do without delay, and without any trouble either to your body or mind; I beseech you to accept of my offer, for I know it will be a considerable addition to your present estate, which I know needs it.”

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply:

“ My most dear friend, I most humbly thank you for your many favours, and this in particular; but in my present condition I shall not accept of your proposal, for doubtless there is such a sin as sacrilege; if there were not, it could not have a name in scripture: And the primitive clergy were watchful against all appearances of that evil; and indeed then all Christians looked upon it with horror and detestation, judging it to be even an *open defiance of the power and providence of Almighty God, and a sad presage of a declining religion*. But instead of such Christians, who had selected times set apart to fast and pray to God for a pious clergy which they then did obey, our times abound with men that are busy and litigious about trifles and church-ceremonies, and yet so far from scrupling sacrilege, that they make not so much as a query what it is: But, I thank God I have; and, dare not now upon my sick
“ bed,

" when Almighty God hath made me useles to the service of the church,
 " make any advantages out of it. But if he shall again restore me to such
 " a degree of health as again to serve at his altar, I shall then gladly take
 " the reward which the bountiful benefactors of this church have designed
 " me; for God knows my children and relations will need it; in which
 " number my mother (whose credulity and charity has contracted a very
 " plentiful to a very narrow estate) must not be forgotten: But, Doctor
 " King, if I recover not, that little worldly estate that I shall leave behind
 " me (that very little when divided into eight parts) must, if you deny me
 " not so charitable a favour, fall into your hands as my most faithful friend
 " and executor, of whose care and justice I make no more doubt than of
 " God's blessing on that which I have conscientiously collected for them,
 " but it shall not be augmented on my sick-bed; and this I declare to be
 " my unalterable resolution."

The reply to this was only a promise to observe his request.

Within a few days his distempers abated, and as his strength increased,
 so did his thankfulness to Almighty God, testified in his most excellent
 Book of Devotions*, which he published at his recovery; in which the
 reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul para-
 phrased

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* This book is dedicated "To the most excellent Prince, Prince Charles." The two following extracts from this work will give a sufficient specimen of the manner in which it is written.

" THE PATIENT TAKES HIS BED.

" THIRD MEDITATION.

" We attribute but one privilege and advantage to man's body above other moving crea-
 " tures, that he is not, as others, groveling, but of an erect, of an upright form, naturally
 " built and disposed to the contemplation of *heaven*. Indeed it is a thankful form, and re-
 " compenses that *soule* which gives it, with carrying that *soule*, so many foot higher towards
 " *heaven*; other creatures look to the *earth*; and even that is no unfit object, no unfit con-
 " templation for *man*; for thither he must come; but because *man* is not to stay there as other
 " creatures are, *man* in his natural form is carried to the contemplation of that place, which
 " is his home, *heaven*. This is man's prerogative; but what state hath he in this dignity?
 " A fever can fillip him downe; a fever can depose him; a fever can bring that head, which
 " yesterday

phrafed and made public; a book that may not unfitly be called a *Sacred Picture of Spiritual Ecstasies*, occasioned and appliable to the emergencies of that sickness; which book, being a composition of meditations, disquisitions,

“yesterday earried a *crowne* of gold, five foot towards a *crowne* of glory, as low as his own foot to-day. When *God* came to breathe into *man* the breath of life, hee found him flat upon the ground; when he comes to withdraw that breath from him againe, he prepares him to it by laying him flat upon his bed. Scaree any prison so close, that affords not the prisoner two or three steps. The *Ancherites* that barqu’d themselves up in hollow trees, and immured themselves in hollow walls; that perverse man that barrell’d himself in a tubbe, all could stand or sit, and enjoy some change of posture. A sieke-bed is a grave, and all that the patient sayes there is but varying his *epitaph*. Every night’s bed is a *type* of the *grave*: At night we tell our servants at what houre we will rise, here we cannot tell ourselves at what day, what week, what month. There the head lies as low as the foot; the head of the people as low as they whom those feete trod upon: And that hand, that signed pardon, is too weake to begge his own, if he might have it for lifting up that hand: Strange fetters to the feete, strange manacles to the hands, when the feete and hands are bound so much the faster, by how much the coardes are slacker; foe much the lesse able to do their offices, by how much more the finewes and ligaments are the loofer. In the *grave* I may speak through the stones in the voice of my friends, and in the accents of those words which their love may afford my memory. Heere I am mine own *ghost*, and rather affright my beholders than instruct them: they conceive the worst of me now, and yet feare worse; they give me for dead now and yet wonder how I do when wake at midnight, and aske how I doe to-morrow. Miserable and (though common to all) inhumane *posture*, where I must practise my lying in the grave by lying still, and not practise my *resurrection* by rising any more.”

“EIGHTEENTH MEDITATION.

“The bell rings out and tells me in him that I am dead. This *soule*, this *bell* tells mee, is gone out: Whither? who shall tell mee that? I know not *who* it is; much lesse *what* he was; the condition of the man, and the course of his life, which should tell mee *whither* he is gone, I know not. I was not there in his *sicknesse*, nor at his *death*; I saw not his *way*, nor his *end*, nor can aske them who did, thereby to *conclude* or *argue* whither he is gone. But yet I have one nearer mee than all these; mine own *charity*: I aske that; and that tells me ‘*He is gone to everlasting rest, and joy, and glory.*’ I owe him a good opinion; it is but *thankful charity* in mee, because I received *benefit and instruction* from him when his *bell* tolled: And I, being made the fitter to *pray* by that disposition wherein I was assisted by his occasion, did *pray* for him; and I *pray* not without *faith*; so I doe *charitably*, so I do faithfully beleve that that *soule* is gone to everlasting *rest, and joy, and glory.*”

sitions, and prayers, he writ on his sick-bed; herein imitating the holy Patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say his recovery was supernatural: But that God that then restored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life, and then in August, 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Harvy, at Abury Hatch in Essex, he there fell into a fever, which, with the help of his constant infirmity (vapours from the spleen), hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as St. Paul of himself, "He dies daily;" and he might say with Job, "My welfare passeth away as a cloud, the days of my affliction have taken hold of me, and weary nights are appointed for me."

Reader, this sickness continued long, not only weakening but wearying him so much, that my desire is he may now take some rest; and that before I speak of his death, thou wilt not think it an impertinent digression to look back with me upon some observations of his life; which, whilst a gentle slumber gives rest to his spirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life; an error, which though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxies, yet he was very far from justifying it; and though his wife's competent years, and other reasons might be justly urged to moderate severe censures, yet he would occasionally condemn himself for it. And doubtless it had been attended with an heavy repentance, if God had not blest them with so mutual and cordial affections, as in the midst of their sufferings made their bread of sorrow taste more pleasantly than the banquets of dull and low-spirited people.

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¹ Dr. Donne, in 1626, was named in a commission with Archbishop Abbot, several Bishops, Doctors in Divinity, and Doctors in Civil Law, to hear the cause between Dr. Kinsley, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and the Rev. Mr. George Huntley, who had refused to preach a visitation sermon, at the command of the Archdeacon. "The Case of a Rector," &c. p. 19,

The recreations of his youth were poetry^s, in which he was so happy as if Nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered (most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age), it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both Nature and all the Arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely (God knows too loosely) scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short lived, that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals: But though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forsake that, no not in his declining age, witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious compositions; yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possessed his soul in the assurance of God's favour to him when he composed it.

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* Whatever praise may be due to the poems of Dr. Donne, they are certainly deficient in the beauties of versification. To remedy this defect, his satires have been *translated into English verse* by Mr. Pope, and his epigrams by Dr. Jasper Mayne, who edited them in 1652, with the title of "A Sheaf of Miscellany Epigrams." Mr. Hume (*Hist. of England*, vol. VI. p. 132) has observed, that in Donne's satires, and indeed in all his poetical compositions, there appear some flashes of wit and ingenuity, but that these are totally suffocated and buried by the hardest and most uncouth expression which is any where to be met with. On Donne and his poetry see some interesting remarks in "Dr. Warton's Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope," vol. II. p. 353. It has been humourously remarked, that verses ought to run like Ovid's, or walk like Virgil's, and not to stand still like Dr. Donne's. Yet Ben. Jonson, in an epigram to Donne, calls him "The delight of Phœbus and each Muse:" and that he could make soft and smooth verses, appears from the following little poem:

"Come live with me, and be my love,
 "And we will some new pleasures prove,
 "Of golden sands, and crystal brooks,
 "With silken lines and silver hooks.
 "There will the river whisp'ring run," &c.

AN HYMN
TO GOD THE FATHER^h.

WILT thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two, but wallow'd in a score?
When thou hast done thou hast not done,
For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore:
But swear by thyself, that at my death thy Son
Shall shine as he shines now and heretofore:
And having done that, thou hast done,
I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers

^h This composition is not, surely, embellished with poetical beauties. The reader who is desirous of forming a just opinion of the merit of metaphysical poets, among whom Dr. Donne is to be ranked in the first class, will consult Dr. Johnson's remarks in his Life of Mr. Cowley. "We can have little inducement to peruse the works of men, who instead of writing poetry wrote only verse, who cannot be said to have imitated any thing, as they neither copied Nature from life, neither painted the forms of matter, nor represented the operations of intellect. Deficient in the sublime and the pathetic, they abounded in hyperbole, in unnatural thoughts, violent fictions, foolish conceits, expressions either grossly absurd, or indelicate and disgusting." (*Dr. Johnson's Works*, vol. IX. p. 24.)

choristers of St. Paul's Church in his own hearing, especially at the evening service, and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend "The words of this hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possessed my soul in my sickness when I composed it. And, O the power of church-music!¹ that harmony added to this hymn has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe that I always return from paying this public duty of prayer and praise to God, with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world."

After this manner did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those ages of the church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God; and the reader of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Christianity^k had broke in upon them, and prophaned and ruined their sanctuaries, and because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable sacrifices unto Almighty God where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried.—"But now, O Lord, how is that place become desolate!"—Anno 1656.

Before

¹ On the antiquity, use, and excellence of church-music, see "Bishop Horne's sixteen Sermons on various Subjects and Occasions," p. 265.

^k St. Augustine died after the Goths and Vandals had with much barbarous cruelty and bloodshedding over-run the greatest part of his native country of Africa; only three cities of any note were preserved from their fury, of which his own city, Hippo, was one, though besieged by them fourteen months. According to his prayer he was delivered out of their hands by the mercy of God, who took him to himself during the time of the siege. See his Life written by Posidonius, and usually prefixed to his works.

^l By the votes of both Houses, made in the Long Parliament, Sept. 10-11, anno 1642, for the abolishing of bishops, deans, and chapters, the very foundation of this famous cathedral, says Sir William Dugdale, was utterly shaken in pieces. In the following year the famous cross in the churchyard, which had been for many ages the most noted and solemn place in this nation for the greatest divines and greatest scholars to preach at, was pulled down

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the body of Christ, extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the cross; his varying no otherwise than to affix him not to a cross, but to an anchor (the emblem of hope); this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in Heliotropium stones^m, and set in gold, and of those he sent to many of his dearest friends, to be used as seals or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry Goodierⁿ, and Sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number, nor could the Lady Magdalen Her--

to the ground; the stalls of the Quire were also taken away; as also part of the pavement torn up, and monuments utterly demolished or defaced. The scaffolds erected for the repair of the church were given to the soldiers, and by them pits were dug for sawing up the timber in several places thereof, even where some reverend bishops and other persons of quality lay interred; and afterwards the body of the church was frequently converted to a horse-quarter for soldiers. (*See Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 549.*)

^m The Heliotropium is a very beautiful species of jasper, and has been long known to the world as a gem. Its colour is a fine and strong green, sometimes pure and simple, but more frequently with an admixture of blue in it. It is moderately transparent in thin pieces, and is always veined, clouded, and spotted with a blood red. From this, its most obvious character, it has obtained among our jewellers the name of the blood-stone. (*Lewis's Materia Medica.*)

ⁿ One of the gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy Chamber. To him Dr. Donne has addressed several of his letters in the Collection, which was printed in 1651.

"To the honour of Sir Henry Goodyer of Poleworth, a Knight memorable for his virtues," saith Camden, "an affectionate friend of his made this tetrastick."

"An ill year of a Goodyer us bereft,
 "Who gon to God much lack of him here left;
 "Full of good gifts of body and of minde,
 "Wise, comely, learned, eloquent, and kinde."

(*Weever's Ancient, Fun. Monuments, p. 302.*)

Herbert^o, the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him; but Sir Henry Wotton and Dr. Hall^p, the then late deceased Bishop of Norwich were; and so were Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury^q, and Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester (lately deceased); men, in whom there was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Christian humility, that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And

^o Of this excellent woman see "Walton's Life of Mr. George Herbert."

^p Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich. "The learned have given him this character, that 'he was 'Our English Seneca,' dexterous at controversy, not unhappy at comments, very 'good at characters, better in sermons, best of all in meditations and contemplations, all 'which have long since been put out in three volumes.'" (*Magna Britannia*, vol. III. p. 394.) Full of the spirit of Juvenal and Persius, he is considered as the first of our satirical poets. He introduces his celebrated work, "Virgidemiarum" with these lines—

"I first adventure, follow me who list,

"And be the second English Satyrist."

His disapprobation of burying the dead in churches is thus expressed in his last will: "I Joseph Hall, D. D. not worthy to be called Bishop of Norwich, &c. First, I bequeath my soul, &c. my body I leave to be interred without any funeral pomp, at the direction of my executors, with this only monition, that *I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints.*" Accordingly he himself was buried in the churchyard at Heigham near Norwich.—Compton, Bishop of London, entertained the same sentiments—"The church for the living,—the churchyard for the dead."

^q Dr. Bryan Duppa, translated from the see of Chichester, to that of Salisbury, was deprived of all his preferment on the breaking out of the rebellion. Having faithfully continued his attendance on the king, to the time of his ever-to-be-lamented death, he afterward retired to Richmond in Surry, where he devoted himself to study and devotion. At the restoration he was promoted to Winchester; and died, March 26, 1662. On the day preceding his death, Charles II. to whom he had been preceptor, visited him in his bed-chamber, and on his bended knees implored his benediction. "He died," says Wood, "as he lived, 'honoured and beloved of all that knew him; a person of so clear and eminent candour, that 'he left not the least spot upon his life or function, maugre the busy sedition of those who 'then, as before, blacked the very surplice, and made the liturgy profane.'"

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not: I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of "The Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations;" a book, in which, by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and heaven, and may by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred endearments, of which that which followeth may be some testimony.

TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT,

SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

A staff of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the crest of our poor family.

Qui prius assuetus serpentum falce tabellas
Signare, hæc nostræ symbola parva domus
Adscitus domui domini.—

Adopted in God's family, and so
My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
The cross my seal in baptism spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Crosses grow anchors, bear as thou should'st do
Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too:
But he that makes our crosses anchors thus,
Is Christ, who there is crucify'd for us.
Yet with this I may my first serpents hold;
(God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old)
The serpent may, as wife, my pattern be,
My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.

Q

And

And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
 He is my death; but on the cross my cure.
 Crucify nature then; and then implore
 All grace from him, crucify'd there before.
 When all is cross, and that cross anchor grown,
 This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
 Under that little seal great gifts I fend,
 Both works and prayers, pawns and fruits of a friend.
 Oh may that faint that rides on our great seal,
 To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Quod Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
 Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet
 Tuive Christum——

Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
 When nail'd unto't, but he ascends again;
 Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
 But only whil'ft thou speak'st, this anchor will:
 Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
 This certain anchor add a seal, and so
 The water and the earth, both unto thee
 Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
 Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
 This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return to tell the reader, that besides these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that hymn that I mentioned to be sung in the Quire of St. Paul's Church, he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred ditties, and he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title:——

A N

A HYMN TO GOD MY GOD,

IN MY SICKNESS, MARCH 23, 1630.

SINCE I am coming to that holy room,
 Where, with thy quire of saints for evermore
 I shall be made thy music, as I come
 I tune my instrument here at the door,
 And what I must do then, think here before.

Since my physicians by their loves are grown
 Cosmographers; and I their map, who lie,
 Flat on this bed———

So, in his purple wrapt, receive me, Lord!
 By these his thorns, give me his other crown:
 And, as to other souls I preach'd thy word,
 Be this my text, my sermon to mine own,
 "That he may raise, therefore the Lord throws down."

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth, makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations, let him know that many holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius^r to be most refined, when not many days before his death

^r Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, a Christian poet of the fourth century, was a native of Spain. He spent the earlier period of his life in more active scenes, distinguishing himself as an advocate at the bar, a soldier in the camp, and lastly as a courtier in the Imperial Court. He attempted not to write verses until he was advanced in years: "*Tandem vero in senectute repulsâ mundi vanitate ad sacras Scripturas se contulit, et Carminibus ac Prosâ multa utriusque Testamenti abstrusa exposuit.*" (J. Trithemius.)—Gyraldus observes, that in his works there is more of religious zeal, than of the beauties of poetry, *Melior omnino Christianus est quam Poeta*. In the proem to the hymns of the *Cathemerinon*, having described his conduct in the former part of his life, he declares his intention of celebrating God in daily hymns, and of exercising himself in discussing sacred subjects.

"Hymnis continet dies,
 "Nec nox ulla vacet, quin Dominum canat;
 "Pugnet contra hæreses; catholicam discutiat fident;
 "Conculcet sacra gentium;
 "Labem, Roma, tuis inferat Idolis,
 "Carmen Martyribus devoteat, laudet Apostolos.

death " he charged it to present his God each morning and evening with " a new and spiritual song ;" justified by the example of King David and the good King Hezekiah, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in these words, " The Lord was ready to save, therefore I will sing my songs " to the stringed instruments all the days of my life in the temple of my " God."

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions^s; and the next day betook himself to consult the fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends or some other diversions of his thoughts; and would say, " that he gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulness."

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning; and it was no common business that drew him out of his chamber till past ten; all which time was employed in study, though he took great liberty after it. And if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours, some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written, for he left the resultance of 1400 authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand; he left also six score of his sermons, all written with his own hand; also an exact and laborious

* It was Dr. Hammond's method, and surely not unworthy of imitation, " After every sermon " to resolve upon the ensuing subject; that being done, to pursue the course of study which " he was then in hand with, reserving the close of the week for the provision for the next " Lord's Day; whereby not only a constant progress was made in science, but materials " unawares were gained unto the immediate future work: For, he said, be the subjects " treated of never so distant, somewhat will infallibly fall in, conducive to the present purpose." (*Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond*, p. 11.)

ous treatise concerning self-murder^r, called "Biathanatos," wherein all the laws violated by that act are diligently surveyed, and judiciously censured;

^r We have a full account of this tractate in the two following letters.

" TO THE NOBLEST KNIGHT,

" SIR EDWARD HERBERT.

" Sir,

" I make account that thys booke hath enough perform'd y^e w^{ch} yt undertooke, both by argument and example. Itt shall therefore the lesse need to bee yttselfe another example of y^e doctrine. Itt shall not therefore kyll yttselfe; that ys, not bury yttselfe; for if ytt should do so, those reasons by w^{ch} that act should bee defended or excus'd, were also lost with ytt. Since it is content to live, ytt cannot chuse a wholsomer ayre than yo^r library, where autors of all complexions are preserv'd. If any of them grudge thys booke a roome, and suspect ytt of new or dangerous doctrine, you, who know us all, can best moderate. To those reasons w^{ch} I know your love to mee wyll make in my favor and discharge, you may add thys, That though this doctrine hath not been taught nor defended by writers, yet they, most of any sorte of men in the world, have practis'd ytt.

" Yo^r very true and earnest frinde, and servant and lover,

" J. DONNE."

This address to Sir Edward Herbert, is prefixed to the original MS. of Dr. Donne's BIAΘANATOS, which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library and was given to that place by Lord Herbert himself, in the year 1642, with the following inscription in capitals:

HUNC LIBRUM AB AUTHORE CUM EPISTOLA QUÆ PRÆIT ΑΥΤΟΓΡΑΦΩ
DONO SIBI DATUM DUM EQUESTRIS OLIM ESSET ORDINIS EDVARDUS
HERBERT, JAM BARO DE CHERBURY IN ANGLIA, ET CASTRI INSULÆ DE
KERRY IN HIBERNIA, E SUA BIBLIOTHECA IN BODLEIANAM TRANSTULIT
MERITISS. IN ALMAM MATREM ACAD. OXON. PIETATIS ET OBSERVANTIÆ
MNHMOEYNON, M, DC, XLII.

" TO SIR ROBERT CARRE, NOW EARL OF ANKERAM,

" WITH MY BOOK BIAΘANATOS, AT MY GOING INTO GERMANY.

" Sir,

" I had need to do somewhat towards you above my promises; How weak are my performances, when even my promises are defective? I cannot promise, no not in mine own hopes, equally to your merit towards me. But besides the poems, of which you took a promise,
" I send

fured; a treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the Civil and Canon Law, but in many other such

"I send you another book, to which there belongs this history. It was written by me many years since, and because it is upon a misinterpretable subject, I have always gone so near suppressing it, as that it is only not burnt: No hand hath passed upon it to copy it, nor many eyes to read it; only to some particular friends in both universities then when I wrote it did I communicate it; and I remember I had this answer, that certainly there was a false thread in it, but not easily found. Keep it, I pray, with the same jealousy; let any that your discretion admits to the sight of it know the date of it, and that it is a book written by Jack Donne, and not by Dr. Donne. Reserve it for me if I live, and if I die I only forbid it the press and the fire: Publish it not, but yet burn it not; and between those do what you will with it. Love me still thus far for your own sake, that when you withdraw your love from me, you will find so many unworthinesses in me, as you grow ashamed of having had so long and so much, such a thing as

"Your poor servt. in Chr. Jof.

"J. DONNE."

It was first published by authority in 1644; and dedicated by his son, John Donne, to Lord Philip Herbert. In this dedication he assigns the reason of his disobedience to his father's order.

"It was writ long since by my father, and by him forbid both the press and the fire; neither had I subjected it now to the public view, but that I could finde no certain way to defend it from the one, but by committing it to the other; for since the beginning of this war my study having been often searched, all my books (and almost my braines, by their continuall allarmes) sequestered for the use of the committee; two dangers appeared more eminently to hover over this, being then a manuscript; a danger of being utterly lost, and a danger of being utterly found, and fathered by some of those wild atheists, who, as if they came into the world by conquest, owne all other men's wits, and are resolved to be learned in despite of their starres, that would fairly have inclined them to a more modest and honest course of life." The system advanced in this book has been accurately examined, and with great strength of argument refuted by the Rev. Charles Moore, in his "Full Enquiry into the Subject of Suicide," vol. I. p. 83,—103, and vol. II. p. 1,—41. The learned author of that excellent work, in his letter, dated Jan. 27, 1794, informs me, that since its publication he has seen a small tract, called "Life's Preservative against Self-killing, &c. by John Syer, Minister of Leigh in Essex, London, 1637," which, though published after Dr. Donne's death, yet before the Biathanatos appeared, is in effect a very full and complete answer to it, written in its own method of scholastic divisions and sub-divisions, *ad infinitum*.

The following extract, containing a short criticism on this work of Donne, will not be unacceptable to the learned reader. "Donne, docteur Angolis et sçavant Theologien de ce siecle,

such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were these only found in his study, but all businesses that passed of any public consequence, either in this or any of our neighbour-nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials: So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them, and divers other businesses of importance, all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him, making his will when no faculty of his soul was damped or made defective by pain or sickness, or he surprised by a sudden apprehension of death; but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father by making his children's portions equal, and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them; for, methinks, they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that striking clock^u which he had long worn in his pocket; to his dear friend and executor Dr. King (late Bishop of Chichester), that model of gold of the Synod of Dort^x, with

“ siecle, est connu par un livre en sa langue, imprimé a Londres sous ce titre : Βιασμενος. C'est une espece d'apologie du Suicide. Il cite, pour appuyer ses dangereuses idées, l'exemple d'un grand nombre de heros paiens, ensuite celui de quelques saints de l'ancien Testament, d'une foule de martyrs, de confesseurs, de penitens, &c. Jesus Christ même est amené en preuve de son système. Un livre aussi extraordinaire n'empêche pas l'auteur de devenir Doyen de S. Paul, parce qu'il fut regardé comme une sorte de consolation qu'il vouloit donner à ses compatriotes, que la melancolie jette souvent dans cette fureur.”— (*Nouveau. Dict. Hist.—Caen. 1783.*)

^u Charles I. on the morning of his execution, presented his attendant, Mr. Thomas Herbert, with his *silver clock*.

^x The States General directed a gold medal to be struck in commemoration of the Synod held at Dort. On one side is represented the Assembly of the Synod, with this inscription, “ASSERTA RELIGIONE.” On the reverse, a mountain, on the summit of which is a temple,

with which the States presented him at his last being at the Hague; and the two pictures of Padre Paolo¹, and Fulgentio², men of his acquaintance when

temple, to which men are ascending along a very steep path. The four winds are blowing with great violence against the mountain. Above the temple is written the word JEHOVAH, in Hebrew characters. The inscription is "ERUNT UT MONS SION. CIOCXIX. These winds are intended to represent those who at that time much disturbed the tranquillity of the church. (*Histoire Metallique de la Republique de Hollande, par M. Bizot. tom. I. p. 139.*)

"Let me be bold to send you for a new-year's gift, a certain memorial, not altogether unworthy of some entertainment under your roof, a true picture of Padre Paolo the Ser-vita, which was first taken by a painter, whom I sent unto him from my house then neighbouring his monastery. I have newly added thereunto a title of mine own conception. 'Concillii Tridentini Eviscerator.' You will find a scar in his face, that was from a Roman assassin that would have killed him as he was turned to a wall near his convent." (*Sir Henry Wotton's Letter to Dr. Samuel Collins, Provost of King's College, and Professor Regius of Divinity, Jan. 17, 1637.*)

In this letter the character of Father Paul is drawn in such pleasing colours, that the reader cannot be displeased with a transcript of it. "I am desirous of characterising a little unto you such part of his nature, customs, and abilities, as I had occasion to know by sight or by inquiry. He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity; the very pattern of that precept '*Quanto doctior tanto submissior*,' and enough alone to demonstrate, that knowledge well digested *non inflat*. Excellent in positive, excellent in scholastical and polemical Divinity; a rare mathematician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in Algebra and the Theoriques; and yet withal so expert in the history of plants, as if he had never perused any book but Nature. Lastly, a great Canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the state; and certainly in the time of the Pope's interdict they had their principal light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to sit fenced with a castle of paper about his chair and over head; for he was of our Lord of St. Alban's thinking, '*That all air is predatory*,' and especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed. He was of a quiet and settled temper, which made him prompt in his counsels and answers, and the same in consultation which Themistocles was in action *ἀντορχηδία ξενὶ ἰκανωτάτος*."

² The friend and biographer of Father Paul, and celebrated for the dignity and freedom with which he preached the pure word of God. Of the real excellence of his discourses, no better testimony can be adduced than the declaration of Pope Paul V. "He has indeed some good sermons, but bad ones withal: He stands too much upon Scripture, which is a book
"that

when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.—To his ancient friend, Dr. Brook (that married him) Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the blessed Virgin and Joseph.—To Dr. Winniff (who succeeded him in his deanery) he gave a picture called the “Skeleton.”—To the succeeding dean, who was not then known; he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.—To the Earls of Dorset and Carlisle, he gave several pictures, and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection than to make any addition to their estates: But unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who, by his constant and long-continued bounty, might entitle themselves to be his alms-people; for all these he made provision, and so largely, as, having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate: I forbear to mention any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience; but I will beg his favour to present him with the beginning and end of his will.

In the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity; amen. I John Donne, by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England, Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding (praised be God therefore) do hereby make my last Will and Testament, in the manner and form following:

First, I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his Blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and cheerful resolution which the same Spirit hath established in me to live and die in the religion now professed

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“that if any man will keep close to, he will quite ruin the Catholic Faith.” (*Father Paul's Letters, Let. XXVI.*) Induced by some specious promises of the Pope's Nuncio to leave Venice, and under a safe conduct to go to Rome, he at first met with a kind reception, but was afterwards burnt in the Field of Flora. (*Fuller's Church Hist. Cent. XVII. B. X. p. 98.*)

in the Church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried in the most private manner that may be; in that place of St. Paul's Church, London, that the now Residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c.—And this my last Will and Testament, made in the fear of God, (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ), and in perfect love and charity with all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors), written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

Sealed Decemb. 13, 1630.

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a cheerful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous; he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners and redeemed many from prison that lay for their fees or small debts; he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant, or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London, at all the festival times of the year, especially at the birth and resurrection of our Saviour. He gave a hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and carelessness, became decayed in his estate; and when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman saying, "He wanted not;"—for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal and endure a sad poverty rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it, so there be others to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind, which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's reply, whose answer was,—“I know you want not what will sustain nature, for a little will do that; but my desire is, that you, who in the days of your plenty have cheered and raised the hearts of so many of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, and use it as a cordial for the cheering of your own:” And upon these terms it

it was received. He was a happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred (which he never undertook faintly, for such undertakings have usually faint effects), and they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to any thing in vain. He was, even to her death, a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities, who having sucked in the religion of the Roman Church with her mother's milk, spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his Lord and Master's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witnesses with him,) computed first his revenue, then what was given to the poor and other pious uses; and lastly, what rested for him and his; and, having done that, he then blessed each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer: which, for that they discover a more than common devotion, the reader shall partake some of them in his own words:

“So all is that remains this year——

“Deo Opt. Max. benigno

“Largitori, à me, et ab iis

“Quibus hæc à me reservantur,

“Gloria et gratia in æternum.

“Amen.”

“So that this year God hath blessed me and mine with——

“Multiplicate sunt super

“Nos misericordie tue,

“Domine.——

“Da Domine, ut quæ ex immensâ

“Bonitate tuâ nobis elargiri

“Dignatus,

"Dignatus sis, in quorumcunque

"Manus devenerint, in tuam

"Semper cedant gloriam.

"Amen."

"In fine horum sex annorum manet——

"Quid habeo quod non accepi à Domino?

"Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus est

"Sua iterum fiant, bono eorum usu; ut

"Quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi,

"Nec loci in quo me posuit dignitati, nec

"Servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni

"Curriculo mihi conscius sum me defuisse;

"Ita et liberi, quibus quæ supersunt,

"Supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant,

"Et beneficium authorem recognoscant.

"Amen."

But I return from my long digression.—We left the author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place; and having never for almost twenty years omitted his personal attendance on his Majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him, nor having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent-preachers, and there being then (in January 1630) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead, that report gave him occasion to write the following letter to a dear friend:

"SIR,—This advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent fevers, that I am so much the oftener at the gates of heaven; and this advantage by the solitude and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftener at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out your happiness, and I doubt not among his other blessings, God will add some one to you for my prayers. A man would almost be content to die, if there were no other benefit in death, to hear of so much sorrow

" sorrow and so much good testimony from good men as I (God be
 " blessed for it) did upon the report of my death; yet I perceive it went
 " not through all, for one writ to me that some (and he said of my friends)
 " conceived I was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself to live at
 " ease, discharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly, and, God knows, an
 " ill-grounded interpretation; for I have always been forrier when
 " I could not preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It hath
 " been my desire, and God may be pleased to grant it, that I might die in
 " the pulpit; if not that, yet that I might take my death in the pulpit;
 " that is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope to see
 " you presently after Candlemas, about which time will fall my Lent-
 " sermon at court, except my Lord Chamberlain believe me to be dead,
 " and so leave me out of the roll; but as long as I live, and am not speech-
 " less, I would not willingly decline that service. I have better leisure to
 " write than you to read, yet I would not willingly oppress you with too
 " much letter. God so bless you and your son, as I wish to

" Your poor friend,

" And servant in Christ Jesus,

" J. DONNE."

Before that month ended he was appointed to preach upon his old con-
 stant day, the first Friday in Lent: He had notice of it, and had in his sick-
 ness so prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirsted for it,
 so he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey; he came there-
 fore to London some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At
 his coming thither, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw his sickness
 had left him but so much flesh as did only cover his bones) doubted his
 strength to perform that task, and did therefore dissuade him from it,
 assuring him, however, it was likely to shorten his life; but he passionately
 denied their requests, saying, " He would not doubt that that God, who
 " in so many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength,
 " would now withdraw it in his last employment, professing an holy am-
 " bition to perform that sacred work." And when, to the amazement of
 some beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he pre-
 sented

fented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body and a dying face. And doubtless many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel, (chap. xxxvii. 3.) "Do these bones live? or, can that foul organize that tongue to speak so long time as the sand in that glafs^a will move towards its centre, and measure out an hour of this dying man's unspent life? Doubtless it cannot." And yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying; the text being, "To God the Lord belong the issues from death." Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne *had preached his own funeral sermon*^b.

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house, out of which he never moved, till, like St. Stephen, "he was carried by devout men to his grave."

The

^a The reader will recollect the custom which then prevailed, of regulating the time of preaching by the hour-glass, which was usually placed at the right-hand of the preacher. In allusion to this custom, a preacher at Cambridge calls himself "A watchman for an hour in the towre of the university." (*Fuller's Univ. of Cambridge*, p. 159.)—Dr. Donne thus begins his discourse on 1 Tim. iii. 16.—"This is no text for an hour-glass: If God would afford me Hezekiah's sign, *ut revertatur umbra*, that the shadow might go backward upon the dial, or Joshua's sign, *ut sistat Sol*, that the sun might stand still all the day, this were text enough to employ all the day, and all the days of our life." Again, on Pf. xxxii. 6.—"You would not be weary of reading a long conveyance, in which the land were given to yourselves; nor of a long will, in which the body of the State were bequeathed to you. Be not weary, if at any time your patience be exercised some minutes *beyond the threescore*, sometime *beyond the hour*, in these exercises; for we exhibit conveyance, in which the land, the land of promise is made yours, and the testament, in which the testator himself is bequeathed to you."—It appears from the accounts of modern travellers, that in some of the Protestant churches in Switzerland the hour-glass is still retained to direct the length of the preacher's discourse. (*Gray's Letters during the Course of a Tour through Germany*, p. 131.)

^b This discourse was printed at London in 1633, in 4to. under the quaint title of "Death's Duel, or a Consolation to the Soule against the Dying Life and Living Death of the Body." The text is from Pf. lxxviii. 20. It is the last discourse in the third volume of Dr. Donne's Sermons.

The next day after his sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent as indisposed him to business or to talk, a friend that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse, asked him, "Why are you sad?" To whom he replied, with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world; and said—

"I am not sad, but most of the night past I have entertained myself with many thoughts of several friends that have left me here, *and are gone to that place from which they shall not return*; and that within a few days *I shall go hence and be no more seen*. And my preparation for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made restless to me: But at this present time I was in a serious contemplation of the providence and goodness of God to me; to me, *who am less than the least of his mercies*; and looking back upon my life past, I now plainly see it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal employment, and that it was his will I should never settle or thrive till I entered into the ministry; in which I have now lived almost twenty years (I hope to his glory), and by which I most humbly thank him, I have been enabled to requite most of those friends which shewed me kindness when my fortune was very low, as God knows it was, and (as it hath occasioned the expression of my gratitude) I thank God most of them have stood in need of my requital. I have lived to be useful and comfortable to my good father-in-law, Sir George Moore, whose patience God hath been pleased to exercise with many temporal crosses; I have maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God, after a plentiful fortune in her younger days, to bring to a great decay in her very old age. I have quieted the consciences of many that have groaned under the burthen of a wounded spirit, whose prayers I hope are available for me. I cannot plead innocency of life, especially of my youth; but I am to be judged by a merciful God, *who is not willing to see what I have done amiss*: And though of myself I have nothing to present to him but sins and misery, yet I know he looks not upon me now as I am of myself, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me even at this present

"time

"time some testimonies by his Holy Spirit, that I am of the number of his elect : *I am therefore full of inexpressible joy, and shall die in peace.*"

I must here look so far back, as to tell the reader, that at his first return out of Essex, to preach his last sermon, his old friend and physician, Dr. Fox, a man of great worth, came to him to consult his health, and that after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers, he told him, "That by cordials, and drinking milk twenty days together, there was a probability of his restoration to health, but he passionately denied to drink it." Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most entirely, wearied him with solicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days, at the end of which time he told Dr. Fox, "He had drunk it more to satisfy him, than to recover his health; and that he would not drink it ten days longer upon the best moral assurance of having twenty years added to his life, for he loved it not, and was so far from fearing death, which to others is the King of Terrors, that he longed for the day of his dissolution^c."

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and die

^c Dr. Donne seems to have entertained an indifference to and an alienation from every secular pursuit. In the various scenes of his maturer life, he has his attention principally fixed upon another and a better state. His desires and affections being mortified and entirely subdued, he familiarizes to his thoughts the idea of death. Hence he expresses not merely an acquiescence in the dispensations of God calling him away from this world, but even an unwillingness to live; and by that very extraordinary mode of representation, which his biographer has recorded, he reconciles and endears to himself the approaching moment of his dissolution. But such a conduct will not be pursued by the generality of mankind. We are indeed influenced by every religious and moral principle to aspire after length of days and an honourable old age; when we languish on the bed of sickness, to bear the agonies of pain with the consoling hopes of being restored to health, not to reject the probable remedies which medicinal skill proposes for extinguishing disease and protracting life. This disposition, joined with a cheerful and ready consignment of our state to the will of God, and a just sense of the small value of all earthly enjoyments, is surely not unworthy of the Christian character.

die with us, and many think it should do so; and we want not sacred examples to justify the desire of having our memory to out-live our lives, which I mention because Dr. Donne, by the persuasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to persuade him how or what monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and to bring with it a board of the just height of his body. These being got; then, without delay, a choice painter was got to be in readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth.—Several charcoal-fires being first made in his large study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand; and having put off all his clothes, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed as dead bodies are usually fitted to be shrowded and put into their coffin or grave. Upon this urn he thus stood, with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside, as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned toward the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus. In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, where it continued, and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his dearest friend and executor, Doctor Henry King, then chief Residentiary of St. Paul's, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble^d, as it now stands in that church; and by Doctor

S.

Donne's.

^d "In 1631 I made a tombe for Dr. Donne, and sette it up in St. Paul's, London, for which I was paid by Dr. Mountford the sum of £ 120. I took £ 60 in plate, in part of payment. (*From a Copy of the Pocket-Book of Nicholas Stone.*)—" 1631, Humphrey Mayor, a workman employed under Stone, finisht the statue for Dr. Donne's monument, "£ 8:0:0." (*Ibid.*)

On the south-side of the Choir in St. Paul's Cathedral, stood a white marble monument, with the figure of Dr. Donne, in his shrowd, standing erect, his feet in an urn, and placed in a nich. Speed calls it "A White Marble Statue on an Urn." Above are the arms of the deanery, impaled with his own, viz. a WOLF *saliant*. The concluding lines of the inscription—

Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as his epitaph:—

JOHANNES DONNE,
 SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
 POST VARIA STUDIA QUIBUS AB ANNIS TENERRIMIS
 FIDÉLITER, NEC INFELICITER INCUBUIT;
 INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SP. SANCTI, MONITU
 ET HORTATU
 REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS
 ANNO SUI JESU, MDCXIV. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS XLII.
 DECANATU HUIUS ECCLESIAE INDUTUS
 XXVII NOVEMBRIS, MDCXXI.
 EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII MDCXXXI.
 HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE ASPICIT EUM
 CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life, even to the gates of death and the grave, my desire is, he may rest till I have told my reader, that I have seen many pictures of him, in several habits, and at several ages, and in several postures: And I now mention this, because I have seen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand at his age of eighteen, with his sword and
 what

scription evidently allude to his posture. "He was looking toward the east, from whence
 "he expected his Saviour." The critical reader will remember, that in *Zech. vi. 12.* the passage alluded to, should be rendered "Behold the Man, whose name is the BRANCH," which the Seventy-Two translate *Ἀνατολή ὀνομα αὐτοῦ*,—and the Vulgate "Oriens nomen ejus."

what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gayeties of that age; and his motto then was——

“How much shall I be chang’d,
“Before I am chang’d!”

And if that young, and his now dying picture, were at this time set together, every beholder might say, “Lord! how much is Dr. Donne already changed, before he is changed?” And the view of them might give my reader occasion to ask himself with some amazement, “Lord! how much may I also that am now in health be changed, before I am changed; before this vile, this changeable body shall put off mortality?” and therefore to prepare for it. But this is not writ so much for my reader’s memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, “His great and most blessed change was from a temporal to a spiritual employment;” in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost, and the beginning of it to be from his first entering into sacred orders, and serving his most merciful God at his altar.

Upon Monday, after the drawing this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study; and being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber, and that week sent at several times for many of his

S 2.

most

* “Antes muerta que mudada.” The words *antes muerta que mudada* are supposed by a Spanish author to have been originally written on the sand by a lady promising fidelity to her lover. The following lines were composed by Mr. Isaac Walton, and inscribed under the print taken from this picture, and prefixed to an edition of Dr. Donne’s Poems in 1639.

“This was for youth, strength, mirth, and wit, that time
“Most count their golden age, but was not thine.
“Thine was thy later years, so much refin’d
“From youth’s dross, mirth and wit, as thy pure mind
“Thought (like the angels) nothing but the praise
“Of thy Creator, in those last best days.
“Witness this book thy emblem, which begins
“With love, but ends with sighs and tears for sins.”

most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives, and then dismissed them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next : for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world ; nor ever did ;—but, as Job, so he “waited for the appointed day “of his dissolution.”

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die ; to do which, he stood in need of no longer time ; for he had studied it long, and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness (in his Book of Devotions written then) “He was that minute “ready to deliver his soul into his hands, if that minute God would de- “termine his dissolution.” In that sickness he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever : And his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident, that he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change, and in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the Beatifical Vision, he said, “I were miserable if I “might not die,” and after those words closed many periods of his faint breath by saying often, “Thy kingdom come, thy will be done.” His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him, not to serve another master (for who speaks like him), but died before him, for that it was then become useless to him that now conversed with God on earth, as angels are said to do in heaven, *only by thoughts and looks*. Being speechless, and seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it, he did, as St. Stephen, “Look steadfastly into it, till he saw the Son of Man, stand “ing at the right-hand of God his father ;” and, being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture

posture as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus VARIABLE, thus VIRTUOUS was the life; thus EXCELLENT, thus EXEMPLARY was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's Church, which he had appointed for that use some years before his death, and by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God (who was then served twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place); but he was not buried privately, though he desired it; for, beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did shew it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friend repaired, and, as Alexander the Great^f did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers^g; which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days, not ceasing till the stones that were taken up in that church to give his body admission into the cold earth (now his bed of rest) were again

^f When Alexander crossed the Hellespont, to visit the ruins of Ilium, he sacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, especially to Achilles. Hephestion, as a mark of his friendship to Alexander, crowned the tomb of Patroclus with flowers. (*Ant. Un. Hist. Vol. VIII. p. 507.*)

————— "Manibus date Lilia plenis.

"Purpureos spargam Flores, Animamque Nepotis

"His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani

"Munere."

VIRGIL.

"Afferat huc unguenta mihi, fertisq; Sepulchrum

"Ornabit custos ad mea busta sedens."

PROPERT.

————— "With fairest flowers,

"Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,

"I'll sweeten thy sad grave. Thou shalt not lack

"The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose, nor

"The azur'd hare-bell."

SHAKSP. *Cymbeline*, A. IV. Sc. V.

again by the masons' art so levelled and firmed, as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his burial, some unknown friend, some one of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave:—

“Reader! I am to let thee know,

“Donne's body only lies below:—

“For, could the grave his soul comprise,

“Earth would be richer than the skies.”

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes; for as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himself a debtor; persons that dare trust God with their charity, and without a witness; so there was by some grateful unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks sent to his two faithful friends and executors (Dr. King and Dr. Monfort) towards the making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that sent it: And he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend, as marble can express; a statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that (as his friend, Sir Henry Wotton, had expressed himself) “It seems to breathe faintly, and posterity shall look upon it as a kind of artificial miracle.”

He was of stature moderately tall, of a straight and equally-proportioned body; to which all his words and actions gave an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself.

His

His melting eye shewed that he had a soft heart, full of compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (especially after he entered into his sacred calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the soul, and the joys of heaven; and would often say, in a kind of sacred ecstasy, "Blessed be God that he is God, only and divinely like himself."

He was by nature passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge; with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body; that body which once was a temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian dust:—But I shall see it reanimated.

J. WALTON.

FEBRUARY 15, 1639.

CHAPTER I

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject, and to a discussion of the various theories which have been advanced to explain the origin of the universe.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed examination of the various theories which have been advanced to explain the origin of the universe.

The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed examination of the various theories which have been advanced to explain the origin of the universe.

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The eleventh part of the book is devoted to a detailed examination of the various theories which have been advanced to explain the origin of the universe.

The twelfth part of the book is devoted to a detailed examination of the various theories which have been advanced to explain the origin of the universe.

The thirteenth part of the book is devoted to a detailed examination of the various theories which have been advanced to explain the origin of the universe.

VERSES TO THE MEMORY OF DR. J. DONNE.

AN EPITAPH

WRITTEN BY

DOCTOR CORBET^h, LATE BISHOP OF OXFORD,

ON HIS FRIEND, DOCTOR DONNE.

HE that wou'd write an epitaph for thee,
And write it well, must first begin to be
Such as thou wert ; for none can truly know
Thy life and worth, but he that hath liv'd so.

T

He

^h Dr. Richard Corbet, in 1632, translated from the See of Oxford, to that of Norwich, died in 1635. He was in his younger years one of the most celebrated wits in the university of Oxford, afterward admired for his quaint and eloquent preaching, and much commended for his great liberality and munificence, and particularly in promoting the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral. The volume of his poems, which have great merit, is not common ; and therefore several extracts from it are published in the Biographia Britannica.

“ If flowing wit, if verses writ with ease,
“ If learning, void of pedantry, can please ;
“ If much good humour, join'd to solid sense,
“ And mirth, accompanied with innocence,
“ Can give a poet a just right to fame,
“ Then CORBET may immortal honour claim ;
“ For he these virtues had, and in his lines
“ Poetic and heroic spirit shines ;
“ Tho' bright, yet solid, pleasant but not rude,
“ With wit and wisdom equally endu'd.
“ Be silent, Muse, thy praises are too faint,
“ Thou want'st a power this prodigy to paint,
“ At once a poet, prelate, and a saint.

J. C.

(*Biog. Brit. in the Article CORBET.*)

He must have wit to spare, and to hurl down ;
Enough to keep the gallants of the town.
He must have learning plenty ; both the laws,
Civil and Common, to judge any cause ;
Divinity great store above the rest,
Not of the last edition, but the best.
He must have language, travel, all the arts,
Judgment to use, or else he wants thy parts.
He must have friends the highest, able to do,
Such as Mecœnas, and Augustus too.
He must have such a sickness, such a death,
Or else his vain descriptions come beneath.
He that would write an epitaph for thee
Should first be dead ; let it alone for me.

TO THE

TO THE MEMORY OF
MY EVER DESIRED DOCTOR DONNE.

AN ELEGY,

BY H. KING, LATE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

TO have liv'd eminent, in a degree
Beyond our loftiest thoughts, that is like thee;
Or t'have had too much merit is not safe,
For such excesses find no epitaph.

At common graves we have poetic eyes,
Can melt themselves in easy elegies;
Each quill can drop his tributary verse,
And pin it, like the hatchments, to the hearse:
But at thine, poem or inscription
(Rich soul of wit and language) we have none.
Indeed a silence does that tomb besit,
Where is no herald left to blazon it.
Widow'd Invention justly doth forbear
To come abroad, knowing thou art not there:
Late her great patron, whose prerogative
Maintain'd and cloth'd her so, as none alive
Must now presume to keep her at thy rate,
Though he the Indies for her dower estate.
Or else that awful fire which once did burn
In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy urn,
Lives there to fright rude empirics from thence,
Which might profane thee by their ignorance.
Whoever writes of thee, and in a style
Unworthy such a theme, does but revile
Thy precious dust, and wakes a learned spirit,
Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit.

For all a low-pitch'd fancy can devise
 Will prove at best but hallowed injuries.
 Thou, like the dying swan, didst lately sing
 Thy mournful dirge in audience of the king;
 When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath
 Presented so to life that piece of death,
 That it was fear'd and prophesy'd by all
 Thou thither cam'st to preach thy funeral.
 Oh! hadst thou in an elegiac knell
 Rung out unto the world thine own farewell,
 And in thy high victorious numbers beat
 The solemn measures of thy griev'd retreat,
 Thou might'st the poet's service now have mist,
 As well as then thou didst prevent the priest:
 And never to the world beholden be,
 So much as for an epitaph for thee.

I do not like the office: nor is't fit
 Thou, who did'st lend our age such sums of wit,
 Shouldst now reborrow from her bankrupt mine
 That oar to bury thee which first was thine;
 Rather still leave us in thy debt:—and know,
 Exalted soul! more glory 'tis to owe
 Thy memory, what we can never pay,
 Than with embased coin those rites defray.

Commit we then thee to thyself, nor blame
 Our drooping loves, that thus to thine own fame
 Leave thee executor, since but thine own
 No pen could do thee justice, nor bays crown
 Thy vast deserts; save that we nothing can
 Depute to be thy ashes' guardian.

So jewellers no art or metal trust
 To form the diamond, but the diamond's dust.

H. K.

AN ELEGY ON DOCTOR DONNE.

OUR Donne is dead! and we may fighting say,
 We had that man where Language chose to stay.
 And shew her utmost power. I would not praise
 That and his great wit, which in our vain days
 Make others proud; but as these serv'd to unlock
 That cabinet, his mind, where such a stock
 Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament.
 Our just and general cause of discontent.

And I rejoice I am not so severe,
 But as I write a line, to weep a tear
 For his decease: Such sad extremities
 Can make such men as I write elegies.

And wonder not; for when so great a loss
 Falls on a nation, and they slight the cross,
 God hath rais'd prophets to awaken them.
 From their dull lethargy; witness my pen,
 Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it must
 Freely and boldly, for the cause is just.

Dull age! oh, I would spare thee, but thou'rt worse:
 Thou art not only dull, but hast a curse
 Of black ingratitude: If not, couldst thou
 Part with this matchless man, and make no vow
 For thee and thine successively to pay
 Some sad remembrance to his dying day?

Did his youth scatter poetry, wherein
 Lay love's philosophy? Was every sin

Pictur'd

VERSES TO THE MEMORY OF

Pictur'd in his sharp satires, made so foul
 That some have fear'd Sin's shapes, and kept their soul
 Safer by reading verse? Did he give days,
 Past marble monuments, to those whose praise
 He wou'd perpetuate? Did he (I fear
 Envy will doubt) these at his twentieth year?

But, more matur'd; did his rich soul conceive,
 And in harmonious holy numbers weave
 A crown of sacred sonnets¹, fit t'adorn
 A dying martyr's brow, or to be worn
 On that blest head of Mary Magdalen,
 After she wip'd Christ's feet, but not till then?
 Did he (fit for such penitents as she
 And he to use) leave us a Letanie^{*}
 Which all devout men love, and doubtless shall,
 As times grow better, grow more classical?
 Did he write hymns, for piety and wit,
 Equal to those great grave Prudentius writ?
 Spake he all languages? Knew he all laws?
 The grounds and use of physick—but because

'Twas

¹ "La Corona," a poem, written by Dr. Donne, and consisting of seven holy sonnets, the first line of each sonnet beginning with the last line of the preceding one, the poem beginning and ending with the same line—namely

"Deigne at my hands this crown of prayer and praise."

The subjects are—Annunciation—Nativity—Temple-crucifying—Resurrection—Ascension.

^{*} A poem so called, written by Donne, who, in a letter to his friend, Sir Henry Goodyere, gives this account of it. "Since my imprisonment in my bed I have made a meditation in
 "verse, which I call a Litany: The word, you know, imports no other than supplication;
 "but all churches have one form of supplication by that name. Amongst ancient annals, I
 "mean some 800 years, I have met two Letanies in Latin verse, which gave me not the rea-
 "son of my meditations; for in good faith I thought not upon them, but they give me a de-
 "fence, if any man to a Layman and a Private impute it as a fault to take such divine and
 "publique names to his own little thoughts." (*Letters*, &c. p. 32.)

DOCTOR JOHN DONNE.

'Twas mercenary wav'd it)? went to see
That happy place of Christ's nativity¹?
Did he return and preach him? preach him so,
As, since St. Paul, none ever did? they know—
Those happy souls that hear'd him know this truth.
Did he confirm thy ag'd, convert thy youth?
Did he these wonders? and is his dear loss
Mourn'd by so few?—few for so great a cross.

But sure the filènt are ambitious all
To be close mourners at his funeral.
If not; in common pity they forbear,
By repetitions, to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceiv'd and hid, consumes
Man's life insensibly (as poison's fumes
Corrupt the brain), take silence for the way
T'enlarge the soul from these walls, mud and clay,
(Materials of this body) to remain
With him in heaven, where no promiscuous pain
Lessens those joys we have; for with him all
Are satisfy'd with joys essential.

Dwell on these joys, my thoughts!—Oh! do not call
Grief back, by thinking on his funeral.
Forget he lov'd me: Waste not my swift years
Which haste to David's seventy, fill'd with fears
And sorrows for his death: Forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good men's hearts:
And, for my first is daily paid for sin,
Forget to pay my second sigh for him:
Forget his powerful preaching; and forget
I am his convert. Oh my frailty! let

My

¹ But it appears from the preceding pages, that his intentions of visiting the Holy Land were frustrated.

My flesh be no more heard ; it will obtrude
This lethargy : So should my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude should be so broke,
Which can no more be, than his virtues, spoke
By any but himself: For which cause I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy;
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world ; and, parting with it, grieve
I want abilities fit to set forth
A monument as matchless as his worth.

IZ. WA.

APRIL 7, 1631.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF DOCTOR JOHN DONNE,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

I. "PSEUDO-MARTYR; wherein out of certaine Propositions and Gradations this Conclusion is evicted, that those which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegiance." *London, 1610, quarto.*

II. "DEVOTIONS upon EMERGENT OCCASIONS, and severall STEPS in my SICKNES; digested into—1. Meditations upon our humane Condition.—2. Expostulations and Debatelements with God.—3. Prayers upon the severall Occasions to him." *London, 1624, 12mo.*

This book is dedicated to Prince Charles. The subjects of the different devotions are expressed in twenty-two hexameter verses prefixed to the work.

"Stationes five periodi in morbo, ad quas referuntur meditationes sequentes.

1. Insultus morbi primus. 2. Post actio læsa.
3. Decubitus sequitur tandem. 4. Medicusq; vocatur.
5. Solus adest. 6. Metuit. 7. Socios sibi jungier instat," &c.

A fourth edition of this work appeared in 1634.

III. "The ANTIENT HISTORY of the SEPTUAGINT; written in Greeke by Aristeus 1900 Yeares since. Of his Voyage to Hierusalem, as Ambassador from Ptolomeus Philadelphus unto Eleazer then Pontiffe of the Jews. Concerning the first Translation of the Bible by the 72 Interpreters; with many other remarkable Circumstances. Newly done into English by J. DONE." *London, 1633, 8vo, or 16mo.*

"N. B. There are added Prooves concerning this History, and a short Discourse of the Antiquity and Dignity of the sacred Bookes, and Excellency of their inspired Writer the Prophet Moses."

A new edition of this version, said to be very much corrected from the original, was published in 1685, 12mo.

IV. "JUVENILIA, or certaine Paradoxes and Problems." *London, 1633, quarto.*

V. "POEMS by J. D. with ELEGIES on the AUTHOR'S DEATH."—1633, quarto. The same in 1635, 8vo or 16mo; and again in 1654, 8vo or 16mo. The last edition contains a

dedication to Lord Craven, by Dr. John Donne, the son, and a copy of verses to Dr. Donne, by B. JON. i. e. Ben Jonson. Prefixed to the volume is a print of the Author in a suit of armour, with eight verses under it, by Izaak Walton. There is another edition of the poems in 1669, 8vo.

VI. "LXXX SERMONS," 1640, folio, with a print of the Author, æt. 42, M. Merian, jun. sc. With a Dedication to King Charles, and Izaak Walton's Life of Dr. Donne.

VII. "L SERMONS; the Second Volume," 1649, folio.—This volume contains two dedications; the first "To Basil, Earl of Denby;" and the second "To Bolstred Whitlock, Richard Keeble, and John Leile, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale."

VIII. "XXVI SERMONS; the Third Volume," 1661.—With a dedication "To King Charles II."

Many of the sermons in the preceding volumes were printed separately at different times.

IX. "LETTERS to several Persons of Honour. Published by John Donne, Doctor of the Civill Law." *London*, 1654, 4to; and dedicated by him "To the most virtuous and excellent Lady M^{rs}. Bridget Dunch."

X. "ESSAYS in DIVINITY, &c. being several Disquisitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers." 1651, 12mo. Written by him before he went into holy orders.

XI. "PARADOXES, PROBLEMS, ESSAYS, CHARACTERS, &c. To which is added, a Book of Epigrams, written in Latin by the same Author, translated into English by J. Mayne, D. D. As also Ignatius his Conclave, a Satyr, translated out of the original Copy written in Latin by the same Author; found lately amongst his own Papers." *London*, 1653, 12mo.

Several parts of this volume were printed before under different titles.

Of the tract "Ignatius his Conclave," it must be observed, that it was originally written in Latin with this title; "Conclave Ignati, five ejus in nuperis inferni comitiis Inthronifatio: ubi varia de Jesuitarum indole, de novo inferno creando, de ecclesiâ lunaticâ instituendâ per Satyram congesta sunt. Accessit et Apologia pro Jesuitis."

This little volume is printed without the name of the author or printer, and without any intimation of time or place. It contains many severe and ironical invectives against Ignatius Loyola, who founded the order of the Jesuits in 1540. The author describes himself in a vision. "Eram in extasi, et

Animula vagula blandula
Comes hospesq; corporis

per omnia liberè vagata est, omnes cœlorum contignationes numerabat et volumina: omnes infularum natantium omniumq; in firmamento hærentium situs dimensiones naturas populos etiam et politeias complexa est."—He proceeds; "Ictu oculi etiam et inferos video in conspectu meo positos."—"Ad penitiora progressus vidi locum secretiorem ipsiq; Lucifero serè proprium, ad quem ineundum iis tantum jus erat qui ita aliquid novi in vitâ moliti fuerant ut antiquitati barbam vellerent et dubia et anxietates scrupulosq; injicerent, et post invecam quidvis opinandi licentiam tandem prorsus contraria iis quæ ante statuta fuerant statuerent."

Many candidates claim an admission into the infernal regions, as Copernicus, Paracelsus, Machiavel, &c. To them Ignatius Loyola is preferred: Lucifer entertains him as a bosom friend and counsellor, and proposes to him the acquisition of a territory in the moon. "*Illuc Jesuitæ omnes transfretabunt, ecclesiamq; lunaticam Romanæ conciliabunt.*"

In the mean time it is publicly announced that the Pope is prevailed upon to canonize Ignatius: "*Iniquum enim esse cum omnes artifices laniq; prophani peculiare quos invocarent divos haberent solis laniis spiritualibus et regicidis suis deesset.*"

Ignatius casting his eyes on the throne next that of Lucifer, asks by whom it is filled. When he hears the name of Boniface, he breaks out into a violent reproach against him, and drives him from his place, in which he seats himself with the approbation of Lucifer. And here the vision ends.

The tract concludes with a pretended defence of the Jesuits: "*Tandem ad apologiam pro Jesuitis accedendum, id est, de illis silendum. Favet enim illis quisquis de illis tacet. Nec certe cuiquam diutissime locuto (etsi ei Oceanus Clepsidra esset) unquam deerit quod de eorum flagitiis addere possit.*"

XII. "BIAΘANATOS. A Declaration of that Paradoxe or Thesis, that Self-homicide is not so naturally Sin, that it may never be otherwise. Wherein the Nature and Extent of all those Lawes, which seem to be violated by this Act, are diligently surveyed." *London*, printed by John Dawson.—4to.

This work was published by the author's son, with a dedication to the Lord Philip Herbert, dated from his house in Covent-Garden, 28; no mention is made of month or year here or in the title-page. At the end of the book we find "20 Sept. 1644, imprimatur Jo. Rushworth."

In the university library at Cambridge are three copies of this book, in two of which are written letters by the editor. One copy, which contains the letter to Mr. Lee, was Bishop Moore's; the other, containing the letter to Mr. Carter, belonged to Mr. Lucas, who founded the Lucasian Professorship at Cambridge

LETTER I.

"FOR HIS MUCH-HONORED FRINDE MR. LEE, AT THE COCKPITT.

"SIR,

"I take the bouldnesse to present to your hands this booke, hopinge that it may bee welcome to you, even for the patrone's sake who has receaved it so nobly, that I cannot doubt but that all his frinds will entertaine it as some thinge that belongs to my Lorde Herbert, and has lyen still these fiftie last years to expect a patrone noble enough to entertaine a peece that is an absolute originall, and, I thincke, drawn by no very ill a hande.

"Sir, your most humble servant,

COVENT-GARDEN, Oct. 26,

"JO. DONNE."

LETTER II.

" FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL EDWARD CARTER, ESQ.

" SIR,

" I have here sent you a booke that may peradventure give you some entertainment out of
 " the noveltie of the subject, but that is not all my reason of presentinge it to you at this time;
 " for, since I lived in this parish, I have published a volume of eighty sermons preached by
 " my father; and have prepared sixty more, which are licensed and entered in the Printers'
 " Halle; which is, as farr as I can drive them, untill the times allter. I was encouraged to
 " undertake this worke by the learnedest men in the kingdome of all professions, and was often
 " told that I should deserve better by doinge soe, then by keepinge them to my owne use, for
 " by this meanes I did not only preach to the present adge, but to our children's children.
 " Sir, I write this to you that you may judg what a sad condition a scholler is in; when at a
 " public vestry in this parish, I was told by a pittifull ignorant baker, I was an idle man, and
 " never preached.

" Your humble servant,

" JO. DONNE."

Another edition of the Biathanatos appeared in 1648.

ERRATA.

Page 8, line 32,—to conciliate, *read* to conciliate.

— 19, — 8,—to like his, *read* too like his.

— 26, — 33,—in faustus, *read* infatustus.

— 75, — 22,—paradoxies, *read* paradoxes.

— 76, — 18,—by Mr. Pope, and, *read* by Mr. Pope. His Latin Epigrams are
 translated by Dr. Jasper Mayne.

— 85, — 25,—PIETATISET, *read* PIETATIS ET.

— 88, — 31,—ἀντοσχεδια ξειν, *read* ἀντοσχεδιαζειν.

THE LIFE

OF

SIR HENRY WOTTON,

LATE PROVOST OF EATON COLLEGE.

THE LIFE

SIR HENRY WOTTON

BY JAMES WOTTON

THE LIFE OF SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON (whose life I now intend to write) was born in the year of our Redemption, 1568, in Bocton-Hall (commonly called Bocton, or Boughton-Place, or Palace) in the parish of Bocton Malherbe, in the fruitful country of Kent: Bocton-hall being an ancient and goodly structure, beautifying, and being beautified by the parish-church of Bocton Malherbe^a adjoining unto it, and both seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a hill as gives the advantage of a large prospect, and of equal pleasure to all beholders.

But this house and church are not remarkable for any thing so much as for that the memorable family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church^b; the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour, whose heroic acts and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this nation, which they have served abroad faithfully in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negotiations with several princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice, in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof in the various times both of war and peace.

But

^a Bocton Malherbe, alias Boughton Malherbe, lies in the middle of the county of Kent. Sir Nicholas Wotton, Lord Mayor of London in 1416 and 1431, obtained the possession of this place by marrying the only daughter of Richard Corby. It continued in the ancient family of the Wottons, until it came to Thomas Lord Wotton, whose eldest daughter the Lady Katharine Stanhope, by marrying Henry Lord Stanhope, son of Philip Earl of Chesterfield, transferred it into another family. (*Harris's Hist. of Kent.*)

^b Of these monuments see "Hafted's History of Kent," vol. II. p. 437;—"Harris's History of Kent," p. 48.

But lest I should be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree and our chronicles, a part, and but a part, of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations^c.

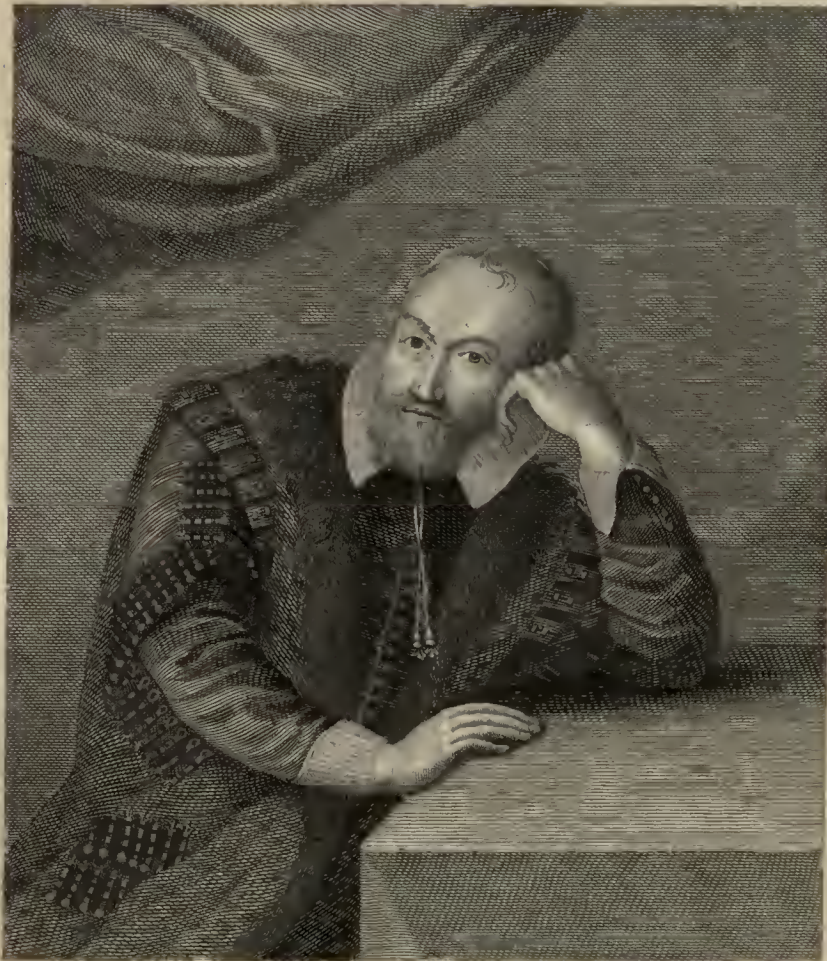
Sir Robert Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, was born about the year of Christ, 1460: He, living in the reign of King Edward IV. was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.]

Sir Edward Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight (son and heir of the said Sir Robert) was born in the year of Christ, 1489, in the reign of King Henry VII.; he was made Treasurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to King Henry VIII. who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England; "But," saith Hollinshed, in his Chronicle, "out of a virtuous modesty he refused it."

Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Esquire, son and heir of the said Sir Edward, and the father of our Sir Henry that occasions this relation, was born in the year of Christ, 1521: He was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts; in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate and the ancient interest of his predecessors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering him a knighthood (she was then with him at his Bocton-hall), and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom and integrity of mind. A commendation
which

^c Hollingshed informs us that the family of the Wottons was very ancient, and that "Some persons of that surname for their singularities of wit and learning, for their honour and government in and of the realm, about the prince and elsewhere, at home and abroad, deserve such commendations, that they merit *niveo signari lapillo.*" (*Chron. Vol. I. p. 1402.*)





W. Skelton sculp.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary, Mr. William Lambert^d, in his *Perambulation of Kent*.

This Thomas had four sons^e, Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted^f by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller
X of

^d William Lambard of Lincoln's Inn, gent. a pupil of Lawrence Nowell the learned Antiquary, and known to the country magistrate as the author of "*Eirenarcha, or of the Office of the Justices of Peace, 1599,*" and of the "*Duties of Constables, Borsholders, Tithing-Men, and such other Lowe and Lay Ministers of the Peace, 1601.*" His "*Perambulation of Kent,*" much applauded by Camden, encouraged many more men of learning to endeavour the like services for their country. His chief work is "*The Archaionomia five de prisicis Anglorum Legibus, 1568,*" being a translation of the Anglo-Saxon Laws.

^e Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to Lord Zouch, dated Florence, Aug. 14, 1592, mentions his brother Edward, as having lost his wife, a gentlewoman, in his opinion, of most rare virtue; his brother James as gone to serve in the Low Countries; and his brother John as retired to a solitary life, and at some difference with his lady.

^f "My brother Edward hath, either against his will, as some say, or with it, as I say, been knighted." (*Letter to Lord Zouch, dated Sienna, Dec. 13, 1592.*)—Sir Edward Wotton was, in 1585, sent Ambassador into Scotland, for the purpose of contracting a league offensive and defensive with the king, to counteract the *holy league*, which the Pope, the Spanish King, the Guises, and others had made to extirpate the reformed religion. (*Spotswood's Hist. p. 339.*)—Sir Henry Wotton's character, while he was engaged in that embassy, is thus drawn by Dr. Robertson. "This man was gay, well-bred, and entertaining; he excelled in all the exercises for which James had a passion, and amused the young king by relating the adventures which he had met with, and the observations he had made during a long residence in foreign countries; but under the veil of these superficial qualities, he concealed a dangerous and intriguing spirit. He soon grew into high favour with James, and while he was seemingly attentive only to pleasure and diversions, he acquired influence over the public councils, to a degree which was indecent for a stranger to possess." (*History of Scotland, B. VII.*)

of her Majesty's Household. "He was," saith Camden, "A man remarkable for many and great employments in the state during her reign, and sent several times Ambassador into foreign nations. After her death, he was by King James made Comptroller of his Household, and called to be of his Privy Council, and by him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of Merley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenant of that county."

Sir James, the second son, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was in the thirty-eight of Queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert Earl of Suffex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio King of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour,) knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries by taking that town.

Sir John being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry, my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: But if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton (who lived in the reign of King Richard II.) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury^s; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life,

^s He was installed Dean of York, Dec. 4, 1544, as in 1542 he was constituted the first Dean of Canterbury by the Charter of Incorporation. He held both these preferments to the time of his death, Jan. 26, 1566-7.—What Sir Henry Wotton said of Sir Philip Sidney, has been applied to Nicholas Wotton. "That he was the very measure of congruity." Henry VIII. thus addressed him on his appointment to a foreign embassy; "I have sent a head by
"Cromwell,

life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments (*vide Camden's Britannia*), having been sent nine times Ambassador^b unto foreign princes; and by his being a Privy Councillor to King Henry VIII. to Edward VI. to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been, during the wars between England, and Scotland and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in committees for settling of peace betwixt this and those kingdoms, "died," faith learned Camden, "Full of commendations for wisdom and piety." He was also by the will of King Henry VIII. made one of his executors, and chief Secretary of State to his son, that pious Prince Edward VI.—Concerning which Nicholas Wotton, I shall say but this little more; that he refused (being offered it by Queen Elizabeth) to be Archbishop of Canterbury—(*vide Holingshead*); and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of abbeys.

More might be added; but by this it may appear, that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred, as left a stock of reputation to their posterity; such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends, some one of

X 2

higher

"Cromwell, a purse by Wolsey, a sword by Brandon, and must now send the law by you." (*Lloyd's State Worthies*, p. 107.)—He was considered as possessing the qualifications of a statesman in a very eminent degree. "Every youngster speaks as politic as Bishop Gardner or Dr. Wotton." (*Spenser's Letters to his friend Immerito*.)

^b It appears from the inscription on his monument that he was sent Ambassador twice to the Emperor Charles V. once to Philip King of Spain, once to Francis I. the French King, thrice to Henry II. his son, once to Mary Queen of Hungary, governor of the Low Countries, and twice to William Duke of Cleves: That he was also a Commissioner at the renewal of peace between the English, and French and Scots, at a place between Guisnes and Ardes, in 1546, and also at the castle of Cambray, in 1559, and lastly at Edinburgh, in 1560.—See his life in a very valuable work lately published, entitled, "Some account of the Deans of Canterbury, from the new Foundation of that Church by Henry VIII. to the present Time. By Henry John Todd, M. A."

higher parts and employments had been pleased to have commended his to posterity; but since some years are now passed, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it, my gratitude to my dead friend, and the renewed request of some* that still live solicitous to see this duty performed, these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which, truly, I have not done, but with some distrust of mine own abilities; and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; first to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudstone, knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in law; in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents) he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a remarriage; to whom he has often answered, "That if
" ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to
" avoid three sorts of persons, namely,

" Those that had children;

" Those that had law-suits;

" And those that were of his kindred."

And yet, following his own law-suits, he met in Westminster-hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, widow to Robert Morton of Kent, Esquire, who was also engaged in several suits in law; and he, observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition, and affect her person (for the tears of lovers, or beauty drest in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted), which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton; for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her
grew

* Sir Edward Bish Clarentieux, King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert, sometime Sir Henry Wotton's servant, and one of the witnesses to his last will.

grew then so strong, that he resolved to solicit her for a wife; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of Sir William Finch of Eastwell in Kent) he had only Henry his youngest son. His mother undertook to be tutoreſs unto him during much of his childhood; for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such viſible ſigns of future perfection in learning, as turned her employment into a pleaſing trouble; which ſhe was content to continue, till his father took him into his own particular care, and diſpoſed of him to a tutor in his own houſe at Boſton.

And when time and diligent inſtruction had made him ſit for a removal to a higher form (which was very early), he was ſent to Wincheſter-ſchool, a place of ſtrict diſcipline and order; that ſo he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wiſe father knew to be the moſt neceſſary way, to make the future part of his life both happy to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcharge of all buſineſs, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit ageⁱ removed from that ſchool to be a Commoner of New-College in Oxford; both being founded by William Wickham Biſhop of Wincheſter.

There he continued, till about the eighteenth year of his age; and was then tranſplanted into Queen's-College, where within that year he was by the chief of that college perſuaſively enjoined to write a play for their private uſe (it was the tragedy of Tancredo), which was ſo interwoven with ſentences, and for the method and exact perſonating thoſe humours, paſſions, and diſpoſitions, which he propoſed to repreſent, ſo performed, that the graveſt of that ſociety declared he had in a ſleight employment given an early and a ſolid teſtimony of his future abilities. And though there may be ſome ſour diſpoſitions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wiſe knight, Baptiſt Guarini^k (whom learned Italy
accounts

ⁱ He was admitted of New College in 1584.

^k The famous author of the "Il Paſtor Fido."

accounts one of her ornaments), thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded Master of Arts¹, and at that time read in Latin three lectures *de Oculo*; wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious compofure of the eye, and demonstrated how of those very many every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this, in an instant, apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in the very eyes of others, to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred.

After he had made these observations, he fell to dispute this optique question:—

“Whether we see by the emission of the beams from within, or reception of the species from without^m?”

And after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he, in the conclusion of his lectures, took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of “Seeing:—By which, “we do not only discover Nature's secrets, but with a continued content “(for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great light of the “world, and by it discover the fabric of the heavens, and both the order “and motion of the cœlestial orbs; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosom of the earth, our common “mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various flowers, “which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize “his own condition, who in a short time (like those very flowers) decays, “withers,

¹ According to Anthony Wood, Mr. Henry Wotton supplicated in June 1588 for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. But it did not appear from the records of the University that he was ever admitted to this degree, or to that of Master of Arts.

^m See an accurate History of the Causes of Vision in Dr. Smith's Optics, volume II. p. 23.

"withered, and quickly returns again to that earth from which both had
"their first being".

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford, to call him "*Henrice mi Ocelle*"; which dear expression of his was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the university.

But his stay there was not long, at least not so long as his friends once intended; for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his father—(whom Sir Henry did never mention without this or some such like reverential expression; as, "That good man my father," or "My father the best of men.")—About that time, this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a-year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concern him may not be buried without a relation, which I shall undertake

* The classic reader, and indeed every reader, will be highly gratified with this beautiful passage from Mr. Wotton's Lecture.

Γαῖα βία, μητὴρ μακρῶν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,
Παντροφί, πανδωτειρά, τιλίσφορε.

ORPHEI. HYMN.

" ————— alma liquentes ..

" Humorum guttas Mater cum Terra recepit,

" Foeta parit nitidas fruges, arbusta que læta

" Et genus humanum et parit omnia sæcla ferarum,"

" Pabula cum præbet, quibus omnes corpora pascunt,

" Et dulcem ducunt vitam, prolemque propagant,

" Quapropter merito maternum nomen adepta 'st."

LUCRET. Lib. II. v. 992.

" Quasi Solstitialis Herba, paulisper fui :

" Repente exortus sum, repentino occidi."

PLAUT. PSEUDOL.

In all languages the life of man has been compared to the flower that is soon withered, and passeth away.

* "Volo placere Philolachi, meo ocello, meo patrono." (*Plaut. Mofi. A. I. Sc. 3,—11.*)

undertake to do, for that I suppose, they may so much concern the reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

IN the year of our redemption, 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury (whom I formerly mentioned), being then Ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good Dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do. But though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased; yet, doubtless, he could not but consider, that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration, and did therefore rather lay this dream aside, than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh (of which double dreams the learned have made many observations), and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure Monica the mother of St. Austin, "That he, her son, for whom she wept so bitterly, and prayed so much, should at last become a Christian." This, I believe, the good Dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God (though the causes of dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that human wisdom could not foresee: Upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy, by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end, he wrote to the Queen (it was Queen Mary), and besought her, "That
" she

¹ This dream is related by St. Augustin in *Confessionum*, Lib. III. c. ii.

“ she would cause his nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent;
 “ and that the Lords of her Council might interrogate him in some such
 “ feigned questions, as might give a colour for his commitment into a
 “ favourable prison; declaring that he would acquaint her Majesty with
 “ the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy
 “ as to see and speak to her Majesty^a. ”

It was done as the Dean desired. And in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary, and Philip King of Spain. And though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion, of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation; yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it; believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain^r, and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And of this number Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Boxley-Abbey in Kent (betwixt whose family, and the family of the Wottons, there had been an ancient and entire friendship), was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him, and he being defeated, and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life: So did the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others;

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especially

^a This account seems to be confirmed by Speed. “ Among many dislikers of the Queen’s marriage, it chanced *one* for some other offence to be committed to the Fleet, by the Council, who, being an inward acquaintance of Sir Thomas Wyatt’s, was supposed by him to have revealed the conspiracie, whereupon he put himself in action, before the enterprize was altogether ripe.” (*Speed’s Hist. of Great Britain.* p. 1112.)—The author of the “ Account of the Deans of Canterbury,” has ingeniously conjectured that this dream of the good Dean was a mere political contrivance, the result of deep deliberation, to preserve the life of his nephew, whose intimacy with Sir Thomas Wyatt would probably have induced him to engage in the conspiracy.—See also *Biogr. Brit. in the Article WOTTON* [E].

^r It was generally supposed at this time, that, under the semblance of introducing the Romish religion into England, the secret design of Philip was to secure to himself the possession of the Imperial Crown of England, and to make the English vassals to the power of Spain. (*Kennet’s Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 339.*)

especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants¹.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined. For, though he could not be ignorant that "Another man's treason makes it mine by concealing it," yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in prison, "That he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions," and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place, when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and both then joined in praising God for it; "That God, who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in shewing of mercy to those whom of good pleasure he hath chosen to love."

And

¹ Of this Rebellion see "Kennet's complete History of England," vol. II. p. 340. The following anecdote affords an example of loyalty and zeal at this time:

"Ralph Rokeby, Serjeant at the Common Law, and of the antient family of Rokeby, of Rokeby, near Greta-bridge, Yorkshire, was so eminent in his profession, that he refused the office of Lord Chief Justice, when offered to him on the cession of Justice Morgan, Sir Tho. Wiatt the rebell of Kent, against King Philip, Q. Mary, and the Spaniards, being noised to be coming towards London, this Ralph Rokeby went to Westminster in his Serjeant's robes to plead, and under them a good coat-armour, and hearing att Charing-Cross, the near approach of the rebels, he hastned him to the Queen's Court at Whitehall, strung and fetled an Archer of the Livery Guards' bow, that stood there unstrung, threw down the Serjeant's robes for that time, and went to the Gate-house to serve there with a bow and a sheaf of arrows, and there tarried till the enemy yielded, and thus in the time of need he was ready to fight with his body for his Prince against rebels, on whom he had jurisdiction in time of peace in the circuit of Northampton, Warwick, Coventre, Leceister, Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, and Rutland, to adjudge of their lives, lands, and goods, for there he was Justice of Assise and Goale Delivery." (*MS. Memoirs of the Rokebys, in the possession of Francis Smyth, Esq. of New-buildings, Yorkshire.*)

² This sentiment happily illustrates the beneficence of Providence accomplishing its gracious purposes in a manner best suited to its own dispensations, in promoting the happiness of good men.

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams; of which I will also give the reader one short particuar of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past: And the particuar is this. This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the University Treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars^u; and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a postscript in his letter, to make a slight inquiry of it. The letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before) came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and university were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton shew his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the university to so much trouble as the casting of a figure^x.

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretel the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health^y. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age; who, being then in London (where he died), and foreseeing his death there, gave di-

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rection

^u Of the robbery here mentioned, no account whatever is recorded in the annals of the University.

^x Judicial Astrology was much in use long after this time. Its predictions were received with reverential awe; and men, even of the most enlightened understandings, were inclined to believe that the conjunctions and oppositions of the planets had no little influence in the affairs of the world. Even the excellent Joseph Mede disdained not to apply himself to the study of Astrology.

^y This is intimated in the inscription on his monument, erected in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. "*Hæc ille ante mortem et ante morbum quasi fatalem diem præsentiens et* "cygneam cantionem prophetice canens suâ manu in Musæo scripta reliquit."

rection in what manner his body should be carried to Boston; and, though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral.

This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

BUT it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis² (whom I formerly named), that, if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the mathematics and law², into the breast of his

² This noted Civilian having left Italy along with his father, Matthew Gentilis, who had embraced the reformed religion, came into England and died at London in 1608, aged 58 years. He published three books, "De Jure Belli;" which proved very useful to Grotius, in his great work, "De Jure Belli et Pacis," and also a tractate "De Latinitate veteris Bibliorum Versionis," with other works. (*Dictionaire Historique, &c.*)

The following high encomium is given of him by Mr. Thomas Savile, in a letter to Mr. Camden. "Albericum primarium olim in Italiâ Judicem, Christianæ Religionis ergo nunc in Angliâ exulem, Oxonii Professore publicum, et tuo et meo nomine dignum, Virum reperiens non unum è Tricassinis, sed ipsam Humanitatem, merum Candorem, alterum denique Camdenum." (*Camdeni Epist. p. 8.*)

Bayle mentions with much disapprobation a method observed by Albericus Gentilis, whose eagerness in the acquisition of knowledge impelled him to seek instruction not less from conversation than from reading. This circumstance is noticed by himself. "Quid de Oxoniensibus meis? Vel repertoria mea testantur satis quantum ego capiam fructus ex eorum virorum et juvenum colloquiis, nam in illis ego descripsi non pauca quæ, dum minus id ipsi cogitant, disco tamen et asservo ex sermonibus familiaribus." (*Dial. III. de Juris Suterp. p. 36.*)

² Civil Law. In several parts of his writings he has frequent allusions to the processes and practices observed in the ecclesiastical courts. "A libel, whose substance cannot be changed after it is once given into a civil or ecclesiastical court, may in some sort be declared or amended before a replication be made thereunto. A witness, &c." (*Preface to his Supplement to the History of Christendom.*)

his dear Harry; for so Gentilis used to call him: And though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and con-naturalness to the Italian language and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that his friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several sciences, during his stay in the university:

From which place, before I shall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Wotton, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun: betwixt him and Dr. Donne^b, sometime Dean of St. Paul's, a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing; because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an university, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his father's death, at which time he was about the twenty-second year of his age: And having to his great wit added the ballast of learning and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry, and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge: Of which, both for the secrets of Nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure, as I shall faithfully make

^b In Dr. Donne's letters, published in 1651, are several addressed "To the best knight, Sir H. Wotton." Dr. Donne has thus expressed his great regard for this his friend.

"Whom free from German schismes, and lightnesse:

"Of France and faire Italie's faithlesnesse,

"Having from these suck'd all they had of worth,

"And brought home that faith you carried forth

"I thoroughly love.

(*Donne's Poems*, 1633. p. 63.)

make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years^c before his return into England, he stayed but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza^d (then very aged) and with Isaac Casaubon^e, in whose house (if I be rightly informed) Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three

^c Or rather, six years. The writers of the Biographia Britannica explain the mistake by supposing that the tail of the 9 should be turned upwards to make it 6. It appears from a letter to Lord Zouch, dated July 10, 1592, that he had been abroad three years. He probably returned in 1595, as he was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Essex, after his return, in 1596, when he was in the 27th or 28th year of his age. In his letters to the above nobleman he has given an entertaining account of his travels, under the disguise of a Dutchman, and particularly of his journey to Rome, where he distinguished himself by wearing a large blue feather in a black hat. At Sienna he learned of Scipio Alberti the maxim which he recommended to Milton, "*I pensieri stretti et il viso sciolto.*"

^d Theodore Beza died at Geneva, Oct. 13, 1605, aged 86 years. This learned foreigner encouraged the Puritans in England, and in 1566 wrote with much confidence to Bishop Grindal in their behalf. Yet however attached he might be to the discipline of his own church at Geneva, and he was very zealous for a Presbyterian government, and by no means so moderate as Calvin in that respect, it appears from several of his letters to Archbishop Whitgift, that he retained the highest regard and veneration for the Church of England. His Biographer, Melchior Adam, has given this character of him. "*Ingenio summo, judicio accurato, memoriâ tenacissimâ, facundiâ singulari, affabilitate et comitate nulli secundus, adeo ut, propter, commemoratas dotes, adjunctâ illis vitæ longævitate (quæ tamen omnia erant inferiora summâ doctrinâ et pietate) quidam vocarent Bezam aetatis sue Phœnicem.*"

^e "Here I am placed to my very great contentment in the house of Mr. Isaac Casaubon, a person of sober condition among the French, and this is all I can signify of myself, my little affairs not allowing me much to speak of." (*Letter to my Lord Zouch, Aug. 22, 1593, Geneva.*)

This illustrious scholar, pronounced by Joseph Scaliger to be the best Grecian of his time, was born at Geneva in 1559. He read lectures on the Belles Lettres, first at his native place, and afterward at Paris. Henry IV. of France appointed him his Librarian, and in vain attempted

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life); where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for learning, and all manner of arts; as Picture, Sculpture, Chymistry, Architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He :

tempted to withdraw him from his profession of the reformed religion. After the untimely death of that Monarch, having obtained permission from the Queen Regent of France to leave the kingdom for a limited time, he came in October 1610, along with Sir Henry Wotton into England, where he was received by James I. with marks of peculiar kindness, rewarded with an annual pension of three hundred pounds, and with valuable church-preferment. He was esteemed not more for his learned works than for his singular affability and moderation. He approved Episcopacy. In his works he calls himself "Hortibonus," a good garden: *Casau*, in the language of Dauphiné, signifying a garden, and *bon* good. It is well known that Isaac Casaubon and Grotius, extremely anxious to form an union between the Popish and Protestant churches, had communicated their sentiments to each other upon this matter with great freedom.

Morton, Bishop of Durham, caused a monument at his own expence to be erected to the memory of this learned man.

"Qui nosse vult Casaubonum
 "Non saxa sed chartas legat
 "Superfutas marmori
 "Et profutas posteris."

When Lord Herbert of Cherbury went to Paris in the earlier period of his life, he was, by the recommendation of the English Ambassador, received into the house of that incomparable scholar, Isaac Casaubon, by whose learned conversation he much benefited himself. (*Life of Lord Herbert, printed at Strawberry Hill, p. 69.*)

"The very seat and sink of all corruption, to which," as he writes in a letter to King James, "my wandering curiosity carried me no less than four times in my younger years, where I fixed my studies most upon the historical part in the politic management of religion; which I found plainly converted from a rule of conscience to an instrument of state, and from the mistress of all sciences into the very handmaid of Ambition."

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his person and comportment: For indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest; that, by time, travel, and conversation, was so polished, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; inso-much as Robert Earl of Essex^s (then one of the darlings of Fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries, the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe^h, sometime of Merton College in Oxford

^s See Sir Henry Wotton's "Parallel betwixt Robert Earl of Essex and George Duke of Buckingham." (*Reliq. Wotton*, p. 161.)—This parallel was animadverted upon by Lord Clarendon.

^h The unfortunate Secretary of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. He is generally supposed to have advised those violent measures which ended in the destruction of his noble patron. His character as a scholar was established by the tract, "De rebus gestis in sancto Concilio "Nicœno," a translation from Greek into Latin. He suffered for the same offence with his master. Sir Henry Wotton describes Cuffe as "A man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counsels, smothered under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion that had the semblance of integrity." (*Reliq. Wotton*, p. 180.)—He is called by Camden, "Vir exquisitissimâ doctrinâ ingenioque acerrimo, sed turbido et tortuoso," Owen, the Epigrammatist, wrote the following lines upon him:

"Doctus eras Græcè, felixque tibi fuit Alpha,
"At fuit infelix Omega, Cuffe, tuum."

ⁱ In the beginning of his account of "The State of Christendom," he pathetically laments his voluntary banishment. "That day should have been more joyful unto me than the day of my birth and nativity, wherein I might have seen a letter from any of my friends with assurance of my pardon to call me home. But I find myself so much inferior to Coriolanus in good fortune, as I come behind him in manly valour, and other laudable qualities."

Τί; το στερεσθαι πατρίδος ἢ κακὸν μέγα;
Μεγίστοι' ἔργῳ ὃ ἐστὶ μέζον ἢ λόγῳ.

Oxford (and there also the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth); Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the university for his learning, nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind, nor indeed for the fatalness of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his councils and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniards, and also in that (which was the Earl's last) into Ireland: That voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen to anger, and worse at his return into England; upon whose immoveable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes, as encouraged him to those undertakings; which, with the help of a contrary faction, suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction (for the Earl's followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the Earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him and divers of his confederation; yet knowing treason to be so comprehensive, as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions as subtle statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety! Considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of England¹, a better security than to stay in it, and there plead his innocency in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Boston; and was by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore; where he heard shortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourable upon Sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England: Having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went; happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance

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¹ See the opposite page for the note here referred to.

acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence (which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's Court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts), in which number he there met with his old friend, Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be Secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence^k, he went, the fourth time, to visit Rome; where in the English college he had very many friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion), and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befell him: An accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but did introduce him to a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the reader, that though Queen Elizabeth (or she and her council) were never willing to declare her successor; yet James, then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed: And the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion (even Rome itself, and those of this nation,) knowing that the death of the Queen, and the
 .establishing

^k Here he composed his great work, "The State of Christendom; or a most Exact and Curious Discovery of many Secret Passages and Hidden Mysteries of the Times," 1657. folio.— A second edition appeared in 1677, with several additions. The design of the Author seems to have been to ingratiate himself with Queen Elizabeth; on the transactions of whose reign he expatiates in all the language of panegyric.

That men of learning should fix their residence at Florence we need not wonder, when we reflect that this city has been long celebrated for its many excellent libraries, and principally for the ducal palace, which contains the greatest and most valuable collection made by one family, and within one roof, of ancient and modern sculpture, paintings and curiosities of every kind, both natural and artificial. Yet Sir Henry Wotton has given a very unfavourable account of this place. "I live here in a Paradise inhabited by devils. Venice hath scarce heard of those vices which are here practised. My best commodity is the conversation of certain gentlemen, and their vulgar very pure and correct. So that here we have good means to learn to speak well and to do ill." (*Letter to Lord Zouch, Florence, June 25, 1592.*)

establishing of her successor, were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the Protestant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant prince to succeed her. And as the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth¹ had, both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so (if we may believe an angry adversary^m, "a Secular Priest against a Jesuit,") you may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth), Ferdinand,
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¹ Pope Pius V. without any previous admonition or citation, had passed a private sentence of excommunication upon Queen Elizabeth; which, in 1576, he caused to be published, and to be fixed upon the Bishop of London's palace-gate. By this exertion of his authority, he deposed her from her kingdom, and enjoined all her subjects to throw off their allegiance to her.—This Bull was completely answered by a foreign divine, Henry Bullinger, a minister of the Reformed Church at Zurich. On this Bull Bishop Jewel addressed his congregation in animated language, telling them,—That he had read it and weighed it thoroughly, and found it to be a matter of great blasphemy against God, and a practice to work much unquietness, sedition, and treason against our blessed and prosperous government: "For it deposed the Queen's Majesty from her royal seat, and tore the crown from her head. It discharged all her natural subjects from all due obedience. It armed one side of them against another. It emboldened them to burn, to spoil, to rob, to kill, to cut one another's throats; like Pandora's box sent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unwholesome evils." (*Bishop Jewel's Works.*)

^m William Watson, a secular priest, composed a book, written with great acrimony in the scholastic method usually observed at that time, consisting of ten quodlibets; each of which is subdivided into as many articles. It discloses the character and conduct of the Jesuits; exhibiting in proper colours their arts of equivocation and mental reservation. Yet this man, so acute in discerning the errors of others, was hanged in 1603, for High Treason, along with William Clark, a Popish priest, and George Brook, brother to Lord Cobham, in conspiring the death of James I. He had deceived his accomplices by instructing them, "That the King, before his coronation, was not an actual but a political king, and therefore no treason could be committed against him." (*See the State Trials.*)

the Great Duke of Florence^a, had intercepted certain letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring the fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that king; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who, after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, despatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and, with those letters, such Italian antidotes against poison^o as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling: Being there, he used means by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bed-chamber, to procure him

^a Ferdinand I. of the house of Medici, who in 1589 succeeded his brother Francis I. was educated for the church, and advanced to the dignity of a cardinal. He resigned his hat when he was 52 years of age. A wise and excellent prince, he applied himself to domestic affairs and governed his subjects with great mildness. He died in 1609. His character is drawn by Sir Henry Wotton in the "*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*," p. 243. He is described by a foreign historian in these words: "*Princeps animo excelsus, et omnibus politicis artibus in tantum instructus, ut in multis seculis vix æqualem habuerit.*"

^o "This Duke," says Sir Henry Wotton, in an address to Charles I. "while I was a private traveller in Florence, and went sometime by chance (sure I am without any design) to his court, was pleased out of some gracious conceit which he took of my fidelity (for nothing else could move it), to employ me into Scotland, with a casket of antidotes and preservatives (wherein he did excel all the princes of the world), and with a despatch of high and secret importance, which he had intercepted touching some practice upon the succession to this crown; so as I am much obliged to his memory, though it was a painful journey, for that honour, and other favours and beneficences; and especially because I came thereby first into the notice of the king your father of ever blessed memory, when your Majesty was but a blooming rose."—(*Reliq. Wotton. p. 246.*)

him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty; assuring him, "That
 "the business which he was to negotiate was of such consequence, as had
 "caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his
 "native country of Italy, to impart it to his king."

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder (mixed with jealousy) to hear of an Italian ambassador or messenger, required his name (which was said to be Octavio Baldi^p), and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier (which Italian-like he then wore), and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber, at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, "bade him
 "be bold, and deliver his message; for he would undertake for the secrecy
 "of all that were present." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his message to the King in Italian: which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised, and really performed by the King during all his abode there, which was about three months: all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment; and within some few months after his return, there came
 certain

^p In a letter to the king, dated Dec. 9, 1622, Sir Henry Wotton styles himself, "Your Majesty's faithful vassal, and long devoted poor servant Octavio Baldi." (*Reliq. Wotton. p. 247.*) And in a letter to Henry Prince of Wales, dated from Venice, April 14, 1608, he alludes to this circumstance of his life, calling himself "a poor counterfeit Italian." He probably assumed this name out of regard to the memory of Barnardino Baldi, Abbot of Guastalla, a great master in his favourite science of architecture, and quoted by him as a commentator on Aristotle's Mechanics.

certain news to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead, and James, King of the Scots, proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and business to be the best schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found, amongst other of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was, after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, "If he knew onc Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in foreign travel?" The lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother: Then the King, asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice or Florence; but by late letters from thence he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send for him," said the King; "and when he shall come into England, bid him repair privately to me." The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the King, "If he knew him?" to which the King answered, "You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me."

Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome, by the name of *Ottavio Baldi*; saying he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with: And said, "Seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter." And indeed the King did so most of those two-and-twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Ottavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him^a.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his motto "BEATI PACIFICI" to have a friendship with his neighbour kingdoms of France

^a James I. was as liberal in the distribution of honours, as his predecessor Queen Elizabeth was sparing. In 1603 he conferred knighthood on more than five hundred persons.

^r James I. heard with great pleasure the epithet of the "pacific" monarch applied to himself. "I know not by what fortune the *dicton* of pacific was added to my title at my coming into

France and Spain; and also for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the state of Venice, and to that end to send ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who considering the smallness of his own estate (which he never took care to augment), and knowing the courts of great princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments: for both which, fruitful Italy, that darling of Nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian world.

Sir Henry having after some short time and consideration resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England*, nobly accompanied through France to Venice by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded: they were too many to name, but these two, for the following reasons, may not be omitted. Sir Albertus Morton his nephew, who went his secretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, who went his chaplain. And though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of the number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of the following letter sent by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

LETTER.

"into England, that of the *lyon* expressing true fortitude having been my *dicton* before: But I
 "am not ashamed of this addition; for King Solomon was a figure of Christ, in that, that
 "he was a King of Peace. The greatest gift that our Saviour gave his apostles immediately
 "before his ascension was, that he left his peace with them, he himself having prayed for his
 "persecutors and forgiven his own death, as the proverb is." (*King James's Works*, p. 590.)

* In 1604.

LETTER.

SIR,

AFTER those reverend papers, whose foul is
 Our good and great King's lov'd hand and fear'd name:
 By which to you he derives much of his,
 And how he may makes you almost the same;

A taper of his torch; a copy writ
 From his original, and a fair beam
 Of the same warm and dazzling fun, though it
 Must in another sphere his virtue stream:

After those learned papers which your hand
 Hath stored with notes of use and pleasure too;
 From which rich treasury you may command
 Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving papers which friends send
 With glad grief to your seaward steps farewell,
 And thicken on you now, as prayers ascend
 To heaven on troops at a good man's passing-bell¹:

Admit this honest paper; and allow
 It such an audience as yourself would ask;
 What you would say at Venice, this says now,
 And has for nature what you have for task.

To swear much love; nor to be chang'd before
 Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
 Nor shall I then honour your fortune more,
 Than I have done your honour-wanting-wit.

But

¹ The foul-bell was tolled before the departure of a person out of life, as a signal for good men to offer up their prayers *for the dying*. Hence the abuse commenced of praying *for the dead*. "Aliquo moriente campanæ debent pulsari, ut populus hoc audiens oret pro illo." (*Durandi Rationale*.)

But 'tis an easier load (though both oppres)
 To want, than govern greatness ; for we are
 In that our own and only business ;
 In this, we must for others' vices care.

'Tis therefore well your spirits now are plac'd
 In their last furnace, in activity,
 Which fits them : schools, and courts, and wars o'er-past
 To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me ! (if there be such a thing as I)
 Fortune (if there be such a thing as she),
 Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
 That she thinks nothing else so fit for me^u.

But though she part us, to hear my oft prayers :
 For your increase, God is as-near me here :
 And, to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
 In length and case are alike every where.

J: DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his Ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture of time, as his master's friendship seemed useful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. Leonardo Donato being then Duke, a wise and resolute man, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the State of Venice could not then have wanted, there having been formerly in the time of Pope Clement VIII. some contests about the privileges of churchmen, and the power of the civil magistrate ; of which, for the information of common readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

A a

About

^u The author of these lines was then struggling with poverty and domestic distress.

About the year 1603, the republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay persons giving lands or goods to the church, without licence from the civil magistrate^w; and in that inhibition, they expressed their reasons to be, "For that when any goods or land once came into the hands of the ecclesiastics, it was not subject to alienation, by reason whereof (the lay people being at their death charitable even to excess) the clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption from all public service and taxes, and from all secular judgment; so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be borne by the laity."

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venerians against two clergymen, the Abbot of Nervesa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins, as I think not fit to name: Nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling. For holiness is not tied to ecclesiastical orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous and most vicious men of any nation.—These two having been long complained of at Rome, in the name of the State of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this abbot and canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice or injustice of such, or the like power then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement VIII. and that republic^x: I say calm, for he did not excommunicate them; considering, as I conceive, that in the late council of Trent it was
at

^w They also made injunctions "Against the unnecessary increase of new churches, convents, and other religious buildings within their dominions."

^x Clement VIII. the admirer of Mr. Richard Hooker's vast erudition was a munificent patron of learning, having promoted to the purple, Bellarmine, Baronius, and many other eminent scholars. Sir Henry Wotton in a letter to Lord Zouch, from Florence, July 25, 1592, gives us the following anecdote of this Pope. "The Pope (Clement VIII.) in this last general examination of the clergy in St. John Lateran hath deposed four canonists of that church, the one for having 'Plutarch's Lives' found on his table, the rest for failing in declining of nouns and verbs." He has drawn his character in another letter to the same nobleman, Florence, May 8, 1592; and in a letter from Florence, July 27, 1592, he declares, that Clement had "la
"santita

at last (after many politic disturbances and delays, and endeavours to preserve the Pope's present power) in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by the council, "That though discipline, and especial excommunication, be one
 " of the chief sinews of church-government, and intended to keep men in
 " obedience to it; for which end it was declared to be very profitable:
 " Yet it was also declared, and advised to be used with great sobriety and
 " care; because experience had informed them, that when it was pronounced unadvisedly or rashly, it became more contemned than feared'."

And, though this was the advice of that council at the conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians, yet this prudent patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul V. who succeeded him (though not immediately, yet in the same year), being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians to a much higher contention; objecting those late acts of that State, to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation; threatening, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to the excommunication of the republic, who still offered to shew both reason and ancient custom to warrant their actions. But this Pope, contrary to his predecessor's moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year: the Pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance; till at last the Pope's zeal to the Apostolic see did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole senate, and all their domini-

A a 2.

ons:

"fantita di Pio quarto, la prudentia di Gregorii XIII. et la severita di Sisto V."—Leo XI. the immediate successor of Clement VIII. died on the 29th day of his pontificate. Upon his death, Paul V. was advanced to the Papal dignity, in preference to two learned Antagonists, Bellarmine and Baronius—a pontiff of a haughty, vindictive, and violent spirit, who, as hath already been observed, disgraced his character by an express approbation of the doctrine of SUAREZ the Jesuit, in defence of "The Murder of Kings."

"When it is denounced rashly for a small cause." (*History of the Council of Trent, translated by Sir Nathaniel Brent, p. 754.*) But see Father Courayer's remark on this passage in his elegant French version.

ons; and that done to shut up all their churches: charging the whole clergy to forbear all sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of absolution.

But this act of the Pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him. And to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's interdict, they presently published, by sound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect:—

“ That whosoever hath received from Rome any copy of a papal interdict, published there, as well against the law of God as against the honour of this nation, shall presently render it to the Council of Ten upon pain of death^z. And made it loss of estate and nobility but to speak in behalf of the Jesuits.”

Then was Duado, their ambassador, called home from Rome, and the Inquisition presently suspended by order of the state: And the floodgates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the pope, either by free speaking or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the state advised with father Paul^a, a holy and learned friar, the author of “ The History of the Council of Trent,” whose advice was, “ Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose their own right;” he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the state, “ That the Pope was trusted to keep two keys, one of *prudence* and the other of *power*; and “ that

^z The Venetians had at this time banished the Jesuits from their territories, because they had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious by their implicit adherence to the papal power.

^a We have already had occasion to name this venerable ecclesiastic. The History of the Council of Trent was published as the work of Pietro Soave Polano, the anagram of his name. His principal adversaries in the Venetian cause were Bellarmine and Baronius, the two great champions of their church. It was said of Father Paul, that “ He not only knew more than other men, but that he knew better;” and that “ he seemed to have wisdom by habit.” Attempts have been recently made by some modern writers among the *high Catholics*, as they are denominated, to depreciate the same and invalidate the authority of this great man. These attempts are vain. His works will be held in veneration long after the names of his adversaries are sunk into oblivion.

“that if they were not both used together, *power* alone is not effectual in
“an excommunication.”

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad that the Venetians were all turned Protestants; which was believed by many: for that it was observed that the English ambassador was so often in conference with the senate; and his chaplain, Mr. Bedel^b, more often with Father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend: And also, for that the republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require; and in the mean time they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the crown of England—(that pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church);—namely, “To
“endeavour the calling of a free council for the settlement of peace in Christendom; and that he doubted not but that the French king, and divers
“other princes, would join to assist in so good a work; and in the mean time
“the sin of this breach, both with his and the Venetian dominions, must
“of necessity lie at the Pope's door.”

In this contention, which lasted almost two years, the Pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless; still acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their consulters of state, and with his pen to defend their just cause: Which was by him so performed, that the Pope saw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it. For they made an order, that in that day in which they
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^b Afterward Bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland. During his residence at Venice for eight years, he contracted an intimate acquaintance with Father Paul, who taught him the Italian language, and who was much afflicted when Mr. Bedel returned to England, to whom at his departure he presented his picture, the MSS. of his History of the Council of Trent, his History of the Interdict and Inquisition, with other literary donations.

were absolved, there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault^c.

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with King James; for whose sake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent history of the remarkable council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England; and there first made public both in English and in the universal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta, where having been, in his former travels, well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness (those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation) with whom he, passing an evening in merriments, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his Albo (a book of white paper which the German gentry usually carry about them for that purpose); and Sir Henry Wotton, consenting to the motion, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse of
the

^c King James had written "A Premonition to all Christian Princes and States," in the Latin language. Sir Henry Wotton is much censured for having delayed to present it to the Senate of Venice, as there was no doubt but that it would have tended much to separate them entirely from the papal power. It was his intention to have produced it on St. James's day. Before that day came, the difference between the Pope and the Republic was made up; so that when he had his audience, all the answer he got was, "That they thanked the King of England for his good will, but that they were now reconciled to the Pope, and that therefore they were resolved not to admit any change in their religion, according to their agreement with the court of Rome."—(*Burnet's Life of Bedel*, p. 13, 14.)—It must be remembered that the above account is expressly contradicted by Dr. Hickes, who asserts, that the King's book, of which Bishop Burnet speaks, was not then extant. "The Pope and the Venetians were reconciled in April 1607, and the King's Premonition came not out till 1609."

the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador, in these very words :

“ Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentendum reipublicæ causâ.”

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished :

“ An ambassador is an honest man, sent to *lie* abroad for the good of his country.”

But the word for lie, being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn, was not so expressed in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English^d. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this *Albo*, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius^e, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit and a malicious pen; who, with books against

^d This passage reminds me of a juvenile epigram written by Dr. Donne :

“ A LAME BEGGAR.

“ I am unable, yonder beggar cries,

“ To stand or move ; if he say true, he *lies*.”

^e A person much celebrated for his intense application to study, the quickness of his parts, his memory, his eloquence, and the multitude of books which he composed. His great qualities were debased by a want of probity and moderation. He was born at Neumark, in the higher palatinate, in 1576. On reading the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, he abjured the Protestant religion in 1593, and was admitted into the community of the Church of Rome. He wrote with much asperity of language against the Jesuits, against Joseph Scaliger, Casaubon, and other learned men, not sparing even Cicero and the best writers of antiquity. He attacked James I. of England. To truth he paid little regard, being more inclined to calumniate his adversary, by the most disgraceful arts of defamation, than to refute him by just and solid reasoning. The very titles of his books discover the acrimony of his temper. “*Scorpiacum sive remedium contra Protestantium hæreses ex ipsorum scriptis petatum, adversum Jacobum Regem Britannæ Magnæ*,” 1612.—“*Collyrium regium Britannæ Regi graviter ex oculis laboranti munci missum*, 1611.” His writings excited such resentment against him that he was alarmed for his personal safety, and fled to Padua, where he died in 1649.—[*Dictionnaire Historique*].—In the prologue to “*Ignoramus*,” spoken before James I. at Cambridge, May 6, 1615, Scioppius is censured with great severity of language for his treatment of Sir Henry Wotton.

against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King, and his ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him; and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to Velferus^f (one of the Chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote^g against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another Apology to King James: Which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, that "Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence^h."

And now, as broken bones, well set, become stronger; so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that man of great wit and useful fancy (his friend Dr. Donne) gave in a will of his, (a will of conceits) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: So those friends,

^f Mark Velfer, or Welfer, was born at Aufburg, June 20, 1558, of a noble and ancient German family. He pursued his studies at Rome under the celebrated Muretus, and upon his return into his native city, having acquired great reputation at the bar, became one of its first magistrates, and was very learned himself, and a great patron of learned men. (*Dictionnaire Historique*, 1777.)

^g In this letter, written with truly classic elegance, Scioppius is treated with a harshness, which, though probably deserved by him, does not perfectly quadrate with the character of a scholar. "Cum famelicus, transfuga, & Romanæ Curiaë lutulentus circulator scriptitatur solum ut prandere possit; cum semicoctus grammaticaster, &c. &c."

^h After his first return from Venice he remained without any employment for five years. It may be inferred from a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, dated June 8, 1614, and printed in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 431. that Sir Henry Wotton was at that time a member of the House of Commons.

that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued. And those acquaintance, that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth), for the future, to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen¹.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where, notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius; yet his interest, as though it had been an intailed love, was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding dukes, during his employment to that state, which was almost twenty years: all which time he studied the dispositions of those dukes, and the other consulters of state; well knowing that he who negotiates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse—with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved, such interest in the state of Venice, that it was observed (such was either his merit or his modesty) they never denied him any request.

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¹ The meaning of this obscure passage may probably be elucidated by the following paraphrase. "And as Sir Henry Wotton's friend, Dr. Donne, gave in a will of his (a will replete with facetiousness) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes; because from thence (that is, from them, from his friends and foes), he received both, namely, reputation from his friends, and industry from his foes; so those friends, who in this time of trial laboured to excuse this instance of Sir Henry Wotton's facetious freedom, became more dear to Sir Henry, and by him more highly valued, and those acquaintance, who censured him for the sentence which he had inserted in the Album, malignantly urged that circumstance to his disadvantage, by such enmity taught him wisdom, caused him by this error or indiscretion to grow more wise; and, which is the best fruit error can bring forth, for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen."

Whether I am praised or blamed, says a Chinese sage, I make it of use to my advancement in virtue. Those who commend me I conceive to point out the way I ought to go; those who blame me, as telling me the dangers I have run...

But all this shews but his abilities and his fitness for that employment : It will therefore be needful to tell the reader, what use he made of that interest which these procured him. And that indeed was rather to oblige others than to enrich himself; he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German Empire and in Italy : where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour; and by his interest, shelter or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

And because these things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples; one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turks : And those English having by irregularities or improvidence brought themselves into several galleys and prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that state for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted : so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment and unpitied poverty in a strange nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was, during his stay in those parts, as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other foreign employments^k, Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice Ambassador to the Republic of Venice^l. And at his last going thither he was employed Ambassador to several of the German princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinando II.; and that his employment

^k In 1615 he was Ambassador to the United Provinces (*Reliq. Wotton. p. 428.*)

^l In 1604, 1615, and 1621.

employment to him, and those princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions, for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia, and her descendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was by his eight months' constant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperor, his court and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion without bloodshed. But there was at that time two opposite armies in the field, and as they were treating, there was a battle fought^m; in the managery whereof, there were so many miserable errors on the one side—(so Sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a despatch to the King),—and so advantageous events to the Emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty. So that Sir Henry, seeing the face of a peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that court; and at his departure from the Emperor, was so bold as to remember him, "That the events of every battle move on the unseen wheels of Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next; and therefore humbly advised him to use his victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of peace." Which advice, though it seemed to be spoken with some passion (his dear mistress the Queen of Bohemiaⁿ being concerned in it),

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^m The fatal battle near Prague in November 1620, when the Prince of Anhalt, General to the King of Bohemia, was, with his whole army, totally defeated.

ⁿ The following verses were wrote by Sir Henry Wotton "on his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia:"

" You meaner *beauties* of the night,
 " That poorly satisfy our eyes
 " More by your *number* than your *light*,
 " You common people of the skies,
 " What are you when the sun shall rise?
 " You curious chanters of the wood,
 " That warble forth *dame Nature's* lays,
 " Thinking your voices understood
 " By your weak *accents*; what's your praise,
 " When *Philomel* her voice shall raise?
 " You *violets* that first appear,
 " By your *pure purple* mantles known,
 " Like the proud *virgins* of the year,
 " As if the *spring* were all your own,
 " What are you when the *rose* is blown? "

" So, "

it), was yet taken in good part by the Emperor, who replied, "That he would consider his advice. And though he looked on the King his master as an abettor of his enemy the Paulsgrave; yet, for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the treaty, that he took him to be a person of much honour and merit, and did therefore desire him to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him:" Which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the Countess of Sabrina, an Italian lady, in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged and honourably entertained, acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities; presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor. Which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, "that though he received it with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his Royal Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia;" for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his services to his prince and this nation might be insisted upon; as namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German princes and the republic of Venice, for the English merchants; and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's^o return to the Church of Rome. But
for

"So, when *my mistress* shall be seen,
"In *form* and *beauty* of her *mind*,
"By *virtue* first, then *choice* a *Queen*,
"Tell me, if *she* were not design'd
"The *eclipse* and *glory* of her kind."

H. W.

^o Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in the territory of Venice, to whom are obliged for the introduction of the celebrated "History of the Council of Trent" this kingdom. Having abandoned the religion in which he was educated, he came into
England

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the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform me, (his late Majesty's letter-

England in the beginning of the reign of James I. and continued there to the year 1622. The University of Cambridge, at their commencement in 1617, paid the most flattering attention to him, while he experienced many signal instances of kindness from the King. Yet the fickleness of his disposition, and, as some have affirmed, his vanity and avarice, soon lost him all credit. Upon the promotion of Gregory XV. his friend and relation, to the Papedom, he was artfully persuaded by Gondamar, the Spanish Ambassador, to return to Rome, where he publicly renounced his errors, and was again admitted into the bosom of the church. He is said also to have left England with a view to convoke a general council, having entertained hopes of composing matters of religion by such a measure. The Pope at first treated him with respect: He was however soon delivered to the Inquisition, and imprisoned in the Castle of Angelo, on suspicion of heresy; and it is suggested that he was there poisoned.—Different accounts indeed are given of the miserable exit of this irresolute man on his return to Rome; yet most writers agree, that by an order of the Inquisition he was declared to be a relapsed heretic, and that, after his death, his body was publicly burnt.

“In 1617 the Archbishop of Spalato, a convert, came into England, and preached, wrote, and railed against Rome, until he was made Dean of Windfor, and Master of the Savoy: Afterward he returned to Rome, and recanted there; as bitterly reproaching the Protestant doctrine, as here he had extolled it: And his end was in a prison.” (*Welwood's Memorials*, &c. p. 296.)

He hurt the cause of Rome more by his pen, than by the defection of his person: His learned books entitled, “*De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*” being still unanswered. Of the zeal which he once displayed against Popery, we may form some opinion from the story related by Lord Bacon. Bishop Andrews being asked at the first coming over of the Archbishop of Spalato, whether he was a *Protestant* or no? answered, “Truly I know not; but I think he is *Detestant*, viz. of most of the opinions of Rome.” And in a print of this prelate engraved by Sparke, is an inscription, expressive of his strong aversion to the doctrines of that church which he had abjured.

“Welcome, grave primate, from th’ erroneous holde
 “Of Romish Babel into Christ his folde:
 “Thy learned workes the beast shall deadly wound,
 “Confute his errors, and his pride confound.
 “Therefore converted (under Faith’s defender)
 “Strengthen thy brethren, and confirm the tender.”

Bishop Burnet in his “*Life of Bedel*” has observed, that De Dominis was utterly ignorant of the Greek Tongue, and that Mr. Bedel, when Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton at Venice,
 corrected

letter-office having now suffered a strange alienation), and indeed I want time too; for the printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London; leaving the reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the inscription under his arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last Embassy into England.

“ Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri filius natus minimus, à serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Brit. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad confœderatarum provinciarum ordines in Juliacenſi negotio. Bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudia Ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi, postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergenſem, civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, et ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum Secundum, Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,

“ Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.”

To London he came the year before King James died; who having, for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities, and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place, if he outlived charitable Sir Julius Cæsar^p, who then

corrected many ill applications of texts of scripture and quotations of fathers, in his work, “ De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ.

It should never be forgotten that he acquired considerable reputation in the philosophical world, by his explanation of the phenomena of the rainbow, in his book, “ De Radiis. Visus et Lucis.”

^p Sir Julius Cæsar, alias Adelmare, the eldest son of Cæsar Dalmarius, an Italian physician to Queen Mary and to Queen Elizabeth. His bounty was so extensive, that he might be called “ The Almoner General of the Nation.” He printed a catalogue of the books, parchments,

then possessed it, and then grown so old that he was said to be kept alive beyond Nature's course by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But these were but in hope, and his condition required a present support: For in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father, and, which is worse, was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy but by the King's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists; this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day: For it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, "That it was the very measure of congruity," he being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words "Care not for to-morrow" were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of Providence that in this juncture of time the provostship of his Majesty's college of Eton^a became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray^r, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest

parchments, and papers belonging to the Court of Requests, in quarto, of singular use to antiquaries, but now almost as scarce as the MSS. themselves. (*Peck's Desid. Cur. lib. xiv. p. 17.*)

"It was not," says Lloyd in his *State Worthies*, p. 935, "without a prosperous omen that his chief house in Hertfordshire was called Benington, that is *villa benigna*, as one author "will have it, or as another, *villa beneficii*, the Town of Good Turns, from the river so named "running by it."

This venerable lawyer died April 28, 1639, in the 79th year of his age. He lies buried in great St. Helen's church, London, under a monument, having an inscription in the form of a deed with a seal to it, importing "That he was willing to pay his debt to nature whenever "God pleased." (*Biogr. Brit.*)

^a Archbishop Laud, in the account of his province of Canterbury, sent to the King for the year 1624, gives this honourable testimony to Sir Henry Wotton's conduct in the government of his college:—"For Eaton college within that diocese (of Lincoln), I do not find but "that the provost, Sir Henry Wotton, hath carried himself very worthily."

^r The successor of Sir Henry Savile in the provostship of Eton college. He was a native of Scotland, tutor and secretary to Prince Charles. His zeal in opposing the marriage of the Prince with the Infanta of Spain, occasioned his imprisonment for some time, along with Dr. George

neft and powerful fuitors^s to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Sisyphus) rolled the reftlefs ftone of a ftate employment, knowing experimentally that the great bleffing of fweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or bufinefs, and that a college was the fitteft place to nourifh holy thoughts and to afford reft both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almoft threescore years) feemed to require, did therefore ufe his own and the intereft of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promifed reverfionary offices, and a piece of honeft policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant^t of it from his Majefty.

And

George Hackwell, Archdeacon of Surry, the author of "A Difcourfe againft the Spanifh "Match." He died April 1, 1623. In the Cabala is a letter from Williams, Bifhop of Lincoln, on the appointment of Murray to the Provoffhip of Eton. In this letter he complains of "The difpenfation given to him, who was a mere layman, to hold a place which was a "living with cure of fouls," and hints a fufpicion of his being averfe to the church government, as eftablifhed in England.

^s Among other unfuccefsful candidates at this time was the great Lord Bacon, as appears from a letter written by him to Mr. Secretary Conway, dated Grey's-Inn, March 25, 1623. And Dr. Birch has given the following extract from an unpublished letter of the Lord Kceper Williams to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated April 11, 1623. "Mr. Murray, the Provoff of Eton, is now dead: The place ftayed by the fellows and myfelf, until your lordfhip's pleafure be known. Whomfoever your Lordfhip fhall name I fhall like of, though it be Sir William Becker, though this provoffhip never defcended fo low. The King named unto me yefterday morning Sir Albertus Morton, Sir Dudley Carlton, and Sir Robert Ayton, our late Queen's Secretary. But in my opinion, though he named him laft, his Majefty inclined to this Ayton moft. It will reft wholly upon your lordfhip to name the man. It is fome what neceffary he be a good fcholar, but more that he be a good hufband, and a careful manager, and a ftayed man, which no man can be that is fo much indebted as the Lord St. Albans." (*Bacon's Works*, vol. iii. p. 636.)

^t He was intituted to the provoffhip July 26, 1624, having obtained the appointment by furrendering a grant of the reverfion of the Mafterfhip of the Rolls, and of another office. The value of this preferment in the reign of Henry VIII. is known from the following ftory: Sir Thomas Wyat one day told the King, that he had found out a living of one hundred pounds in the year more than enough, and prayed him to beftow it on him. "Truly," faid the King, "We have no fuch in England." "Yes, Sir," faid Sir Thomas, "The Provoffhip of Eton, where a man has his diet, his lodging, his horfe-meat, his fervants' wages, his riding charges, and a 100l. per annum befides." (*Lloyd's State Worthies*, p. 79.)

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind: But money was wanting^u to furnish him with those necessities which attend removes and a settlement in such a place; and to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey^x for his assistance. Of which Nicholas Pey I shall here say a little for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way a servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's household, was made a great officer^y in his Majesty's house. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey, *in whom there was a radical honesty*, were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expressed by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote^z to use all his interest at court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears (for less would not settle him in

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^u When he went to the election at Eton, soon after he was made Provost, he was so ill provided that the fellows of his college were obliged to furnish his bare walls, and whatever else was wanting. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, after his return from his last ambassage to Venice, he thus writes: "I am left utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist at home: Much like those scal-fishes, which sometimes, as they say, oversleeping themselves in an ebbling water, feel nothing about them in a dry shore when they are awake." (*Reliq. Wotton. p. 320.*)

^x Of whom Sir Henry Wotton writes in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham from Venice: "That he is his friend of trust to him at home in all his occasions." In other letters he always mentions him in language full of respect. The name of this faithful servant, thus transmitted to posterity in the page of Isaac Walton, will ever be remembered with honour.

"Oh good old man! how well in thee appears
 "The constant service of the antique world,
 "When servants sweat for duty, not for meed.
 "Thou art not for the fashion of these times
 "Where none will sweat but for promotion,
 "And having that, do choke their service up
 "Even with the having. It is not so with thee."

(*Shakespeare's As You Like It, act II. scene III.*)

^y One of the clerks of the King's kitchen.

^z See this letter in "*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*," p. 359.

the college), and the want of such a sum, *wrinkled his face with care*—(it was his own expression);—and that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his college, and “*Invidiae remedium*” written over his study-door^a.

This money, being part of his arrears, was by his own, and the help of honest Nicholas Pey’s interest in court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the college: the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning. The college being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a seafaring-man after a tempestuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers^b; and, as Sir William Davenant^c has happily expressed the like of another person,—

“ Laugh at the graver business of the state,
“ Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate.”

Being

^a Yet, in a letter to the King in 1628, he requests that, when the rolls are disposed of, his Majesty would be pleased to reserve for him some small proportion towards the discharge of such debts as he had contracted in public service, and next to promise him the next good deanery that shall be vacant by death or remove. (*Reliq. Wott. p. 563.*)—And we find him in 1637, as a poor suppliant unto the King to confer upon him the Mastership of the Savoy, in case Dr. Belcanquell his good friend shall be removed to the Deanery of Durham. (*Ibid. p. 340.*)

^b “ Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis
“ E terrâ altèrius magnum spectare laborem.”

LUCRET.

^c Sir William Davenant, born at Oxford in 1605, and called by Anthony Wood “The sweet Swan of Isis,” was chosen poet-laureat on the death of Ben Jonson. He attached himself to the royal cause, and entering upon a military life received the honour of knighthood for his behaviour at the siege of Gloucester in 1641. Having embarked on board a ship to go to Virginia, he was captured by a man of war belonging to the Parliament, and carried prisoner to the Isle of Wight. During his confinement he retained his natural vivacity of temper, and employed his time in completing his epic poem of Gondibert. It is generally supposed that

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study^d was the statutes of the college, by which he conceived himself bound^e to enter into holy orders, which he did, being made Deacon with all convenient speed. Shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit: to whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the King by whose goodness I now am in this condition;—a condition which that Emperor Charles V. seemed to approve; who after so many remarkable victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy retreat to a cloisteral life, where he might by devout meditations consult with God,"—which the rich or busy men seldom do,—and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day wherein all flesh must make an account of

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he owed the preservation of his life to the kind interference of Milton. He had afterward an opportunity of conferring the same favour on our immortal bard. At the restoration he exerted himself in improving the scenery and decorations of the stage. His dramatic works are numerous. He died in April 1668, and was interred in Westminster Abbey, near the poet May, who was his rival for the laurel.

^d Previous to this he published his "Elements of Architecture;" a work of very great merit, and in reality the best upon that subject that had then appeared in the English language.

^e Though the King had actually granted a dispensation to hold the provostship without going into orders, Sir Henry Wotton was ordained Deacon in 1627. In the "Reliq. Wottonianæ," p. 323, 327, are two letters to the King—one to make known his intention of entering into orders; the other to inform his Majesty that he had *taken the degree of Deacon*. Sir Henry Savile and Mr. Murray, the predecessors of Sir Henry Wotton, were both laymen. And it is well known, that upon the death of Dr. John Meredith, the great and good Mr. Boyle was in 1665 nominated to the provostship of this college, but that his objection to entering into holy orders was a principal motive that induced him to decline the honour. Mr. Edmund Waller was more than once a candidate for this office. The King, Charles II. referred his petition to the Council, "Who, after hearing the question argued by lawyers for three days, determined that the office could be held only by a clergyman, according to the act of uniformity; since the provosts had always received institution, as for a parsonage, from the Bishop of Lincoln." (*Dr. Johnson's Works*, vol. IX. p. 256.)

“ their actions. And after a kind of tempestuous life I now have the like
 “ advantage from him, *‘that makes the outgoings of the morning to praise him;’*
 “ even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular mercy of
 “ an exemption from business, a quiet mind and a liberal maintenance,
 “ even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound
 “ me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contem-
 “ plation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity.”

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time in the college: After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study; and there to spend some hours in reading the bible and authors in divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer. This was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But when he was once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind, and those still increased by constant company at his table of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling^f, which he would usually call “ His idle time not idly spent;” saying often, “ He would rather live five May months than forty Decem-
 “ bers.”

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table; where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence or a genius that prompted them to learning. For whose encouragement he was (besides many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators: persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because “ Almighty God has left mankind affec-
 “ tions

^f Angling was the favourite diversion of Mr. Isaac Walton, who, from his superior skill in the art, was called “ the Father of Anglers.” His treatise of “ The Complete Angler,” will be always read with pleasure even by those who have no relish for “ the fly and the cork.” In his preface to this work he informs us, “ That Sir Henry Wotton had declared to him his intentions of writing a Discourse of the Art, and in praise of Angling.” This he doubtless would have done, if death had not prevented him.

"tions to be wrought upon." And he would often say, "That none despised eloquence but such dull souls as were not capable of it." He would also often make choice of some observations out of those historians and poets; and would never leave the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apothegm or sentence that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar^g.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity^h.

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religionⁱ: concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to shew the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant priest, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper-music at church: The priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the choir this question, written in a small piece of paper, "Where was your religion to be found before Luther?" To which question Sir Henry presently

^g His singular attention to the education of the young nobility and gentry, who were sent to Eton, tended much to recommend the school. Mr. Boyle, who wrote the history of the earlier period of his own life, under the fictitious name of "Philaretus," tells us, that he and his elder brother were sent "To be bred up at Eton college near Windsor, whose provost at that time was Sir Henry Wotton, a person that was not only a fine gentleman himself, but very well skilled in the art of making others so; betwixt whom and the Earl of Corke, an ancient friendship had been constantly cultivated by reciprocal civilities." (*Birch's Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, Esq. p. 23.)

^h A small fragment of this work, under the title of "A Philosophical Survey of Education or Moral Architecture," is extant in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

ⁱ The proposition inscribed on his monument, "Disputandi pruritus ecclesiarum scabies," is too strongly verified in the annals of history.

presently underwrit, "My religion was to be found then, where yours is
"not to be found now, in the written word of God^k."

The next vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the choir-boys with this question to his honest pleasant friend the priest: "Do you believe all those many thousands of poor Christians were
"damned that were excommunicated because the Pope and the Duke of
"Venice could not agree about their temporal power? even those poor
"Christians that knew not why they quarrelled. Speak your conscience." To which he underwrit in French, "Monsieur, excusez-moi."

To one that asked him, "Whether a Papist may be saved?" he replied, "You may be saved without knowing that:—Look to yourself".

To another whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice; "Pray, Sir, forbear till you
"have studied the points better: for the wise Italians have this proverb^l,
"He that understands amiss concludes worse. And take heed of thinking,
"The farther you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to
"God."

And to another that spoke indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:

"In my travel towards Venice, as I passed through Germany, I rested
"almost a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with
"Arminius^m, then the Professor of Divinity in that university; a man
much

^k When this question was proposed to the learned Mr. Joseph Mede, he answered with his usual festivity by another question, "Where was the fine flour when the wheat went to the mill?" And sometimes thus, "Where was the meal before the corn was ground?" (*See Dr. Clerk's Sermons, vol. III. p. 323.*)

Bishop Bedel wrote a very long treatise on these two questions—"Where was the reformed church before Luther's time?" and "What was the fate of those who died in the bosom of the church before the reformation?" Archbishop Usher often urged him to publish this work, which was lost in that scene of confusion which attended the Irish rebellion.

^l "Chi mal intende, peggio decide."

^m How different is the language of King James, who hesitates not to pronounce Arminius
"A seditious and heretical preacher, an infecter of Leyden with heresy, and an enemy of
"God." The condemnation of Arminianism at the Synod of Dort, is principally to be
attributed

“ much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and contro-
 “ versy. And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions (as so
 “ weak a brain as mine is may easily do), then I know I differ from him in
 “ some points: Yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a
 “ man of most rare learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life,
 “ and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild, appears by his
 “ proposals to our Master Perkins^a of Cambridge, from whose book, ‘Of the
 “ Order

attributed to James, whilst with an inconsistency, which it will be difficult to defend, he
 protected the Arminian party in his own kingdom. Of Arminius and his opinions, see
 “ Brandt’s History of the Reformation abridged,” p. 267.

How much the Arminians were favoured, appears from the following incident. Mr.
 Morley, afterward Bishop of Winchester, remarkable for his facetiousness and jocular
 sayings, being asked by a grave country gentleman, who was desirous to be instructed what
 their tenets and opinions were, “What the Arminians held?” pleasantly answered, “That
 “they held all the best Bishoprics and Deaneries in England:” Which was quickly reported
 abroad, as Mr. Morley’s definition of the Arminian tenets.” (*Life of Edward Earl of*
Clarendon. Oxford. p. 26.)

^a Mr. William Perkins, of Christ College in the University of Cambridge, where he died
 in 1602. He was minister of St. Andrew’s parish, in Cambridge, and had the character of a
 learned, pious, and laborious preacher. “His life,” says Fuller, “was so pious, so spotless,
 “that malice was afraid to bite at his credit, into which she knew her teeth could not enter.”
 Dr. Richard Montague, his fellow collegian, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester, preached
 his funeral sermon, taking for his text, “*Moses my Servant is dead.*” It was the wish of
 Archbishop Usher, that he might die like Mr. Perkins, who expired crying for mercy and
 forgiveness. His works, which were dispersed through Great Britain, France, Germany,
 the Low Countries, and Spain, many of them being translated into the French, German, and
 Italian tongues, are declared to be equal in point of language, to those of the best authors.
 His humility, as a preacher, was eminent, in condescending to the capacity of his meanest
 auditors. His church at Cambridge, consisting of the university and town, “The scholar
 “could hear no learned, or the townsmen plainer sermon.” See a Portrait of this good man
 in *Fuller’s Abel Redivivus*, p. 431.

“That worthy pair of our late divines, Greenham and Perkins; whereof the one excelled
 in experimental divinity, and knew well how to stay a weak conscience, how to raise a
 fallen, how to strike a remorseless; the other in a distinct judgment, and a rare dexterity
 in clearing the obscure subtilties of the school, and easy explication of the most perplexed
 discourses.” (*Bishop Hall’s First Decad of Epistles. Ep. 7.*)

“Order and Causes of Salvation’ (which was first written in Latin), Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequences of his doctrine; intending them, it is said, to come privately to Mr. Perkin’s own hands; and to receive from him a like private and a like loving answer. But Mr. Perkins died before those queries came to him, and it is thought Arminius meant them to die with him. For though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them—but since his death his sons did not. And it is a pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning. And though since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy; yet for the most part they have rather satisfied themselves, than convinced the dissenting party. And, doubtless, many middle-witted men, which yet may mean well, many scholars that are not in the highest form for learning, which yet may preach well, men that are but preachers, and shall never know, until they come to heaven, where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and the Church of England (if there be any), will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the controversy, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude^o, for being busy-bodies, and for meddling with things they understand not^p.”

And

^o Rather, St. Peter. 1 *Pet.* iv. 15, and 2 *Pet.* ii. 12.

^p In England Arminianism was hostile to civil liberty, and Calvinism favourable to it. It has been already remarked that James, however he pretended to promote the condemnation of Arminius and his doctrines at the Synod of Dort, encouraged the Arminians at home. He promoted Laud, Howson, Corbet and Neil, who were all zealous Arminians. There is reason to suppose that they abetted his arbitrary measures, and by that means recommended themselves.

“The Puritans, who will allow no free-will at all, but God does all, yet will allow the subject his liberty to do or not to do, notwithstanding the King, the God upon earth. The Arminians, who hold we have free-will, yet say, when we come to the King, there must be all obedience, and no liberty to be stood for.” (*Selden’s Table Talk, under the Article FREE-WILL.*)

And here it offers itself (I think not unfitly) to tell the reader, that a friend of Sir Henry Wotton's, being designed for the employment of an ambassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his negotiations: To whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism; "That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his country, he should always, and upon all occasions, speak the truth." It seems a state paradox: "For," says Sir Henry Wotton, "you shall never be believed: And by this means your truth will secure yourself if you shall ever be called to any account; and it will also put your adversaries, who will still hunt counter, to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings^a."

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the reader to look back with me whilst, according to my promise, I shall say a little of Sir Albertus Morton^r and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my reader, that at Sir Henry Wotton's first going ambassador into Italy, his cousin, Sir Albertus Morton, went his secretary: And I am next to tell you that Sir Albertus died Secretary of State to our late King; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possessed

D d

Sir

^a When Sir Henry Wotton gives this firewd advice to his friend, he seems really to have held that unfavourable opinion of the function of an ambassador, which he had once declared, in his celebrated definition.

^r "He died in the vernality of his employments and fortunes, under the best king and master in the world." (*Reliq. Wotton. p. 477.*)

Sir Henry Wotton's epigram on the death of Sir Albertus Morton's wife is well known:

"He first deceased: She for a little tried
"To live without him: lik'd it not, and died."

Albertus Morton was elected scholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1602. He went to Venice as Secretary to his uncle Sir Henry Wotton, and was afterward agent for King James at the court of Savoy, and with the Princes of the Union in Germany, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia in 1616, one of the Clerks of the Council, and knighted in Sept. 1617, and at last Secretary of State, in which post he died in November, 1625. (*Dr. Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales.*)

Sir Henry Wotton at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death-lost to him and this world. And yet the reader may partly guess by these following expressions: The first in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part:

———“ And, my dear Nick, when I had been here almost a fortnight, “ in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of Sir Albertus “ Morton’s departure out of this world, who was dearer to me than mine “ own being in it. What a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him “ and know me, will easily believe: But our Creator’s will be done and un- “ repiningly received by his own creatures, who is the Lord of all nature and “ of all fortune, when he taketh to himself now one and then another, till that “ expected day wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole and wrap “ up even the heaven itself as a scroll of parchment. This is the last phi- “ losophy that we must study upon earth. Let us, therefore, that yet re- “ main here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other; “ which of all virtues, both spiritual and moral, hath the highest privilege, “ because death itself cannot end it. And my good Nick,” &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus expressed to his Nick Pey: The other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude it was too hearty to be dissembled.

TEARS

* Isaiah, xxxiv. 4.

* These are noble and exalted sentiments, such as Christianity alone inculcates.

TEARS

WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, BY HENRY WOTTON.

SILENCE, in truth, would speak my sorrow best,
 For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell^u;
 Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest
 A time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
 Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,
 And now, congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
 Strength to accent—"Here my Albertus lies!"

This is that fable stone, this is the cave
 And womb of earth that doth his corps embrace;
 While others sing his praise, let me engrave
 These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of wo;
 Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;
 And here my faithful TEARS in showers shall flow,
 To humanize the flints on which I tread^x.

D d 2 .

Where

^u Agreeable to that more ancient observation, "*Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*"
 (*Seneca.*)

^x This curious line reminds us of part of an extravagant elegy to the memory of a pleasant poet of the last century, Colonel Lovelace, in which the author, E. Revett, says,

"Why should some rude hand carve thy sacred stone,
 "And there incise a cheap inscription,
 "When we can shed the tribute of our tears
 "So long, till the relenting marble wears?
 "Which shall such order in their cadence keep,
 "That they a native epitaph shall weep;
 "Until each letter spelt distinctly lies,
 "Cut by the mystic droppings of our eyes."

Where, though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
 And none between my weakness judge and me;
 Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,
 Whose doleful echoes to my plaints agree^y.

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here
 As if some muse would listen to my lay?
 When all distun'd sit waiting for their dear,
 And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,
 Discharg'd from Nature's and from Fortune's trust;
 Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,
 And runs the rest of my remaining dust^z.

H. W.

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel, I must prepare the reader by telling him, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton ambassador to the State of Venice, he sent also an ambassador^a to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain. With the ambassador of France went Joseph Hall, late Bishop of Norwich, whose many and useful works speak his great merit: with the ambassador of Spain went James Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three chaplains to these three ambassadors were all bred in one university, all of one college (Emanuel College in Cambridge), all benefited

^y Thus in the beautiful "Lycidas" of Milton—

"Now thou art gone, and never must return:
 "Thee, shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves,
 "With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown,
 "And all their echoes mourn."

^z An ingenious modern critic has justly remarked, that "the poetical compositions of Sir Henry Wotton, when considered in their proper light, namely as the effusions of one who merely scribbled for his amusement, will be found deserving of praise."

^a James Hay, Viscount Doncaster.

ficed in one dioceſe, and all moſt dear and entire friends. But in Spain Mr. Wadſworth^b met with temptations, or reaſons, ſuch as were ſo powerful as to perſuade him (who of the three was formerly obſerved to be the moſt averſe to that religion that calls itſelf Catholic) to diſclaim himſelf a member of the church of England, and declare himſelf for the church of Rome; diſcharging himſelf of his attendance on the ambaffador, and betaking himſelf to a monaſtic life, in which he lived very regularly, and ſo died.

When Dr. Hall, the late Biſhop of Norwich, came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadſworth (it is the firſt epiſtle in his printed decades), to perſuade his return, or to ſhew the reaſon of his apoſtacy. The letter ſeemed to have in it many ſweet expreſſions of love; and yet there was in it ſome expreſſion, that was ſo unpleasant to Mr. Wadſworth, that he rather choſe to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there paſſed betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadſworth divers letters, which be extant in print and did well deſerve it: For in them there ſeems to be a controverſy, not of religion only, but who ſhould answer each other with moſt love and meekneſs. Which I mention the rather, becauſe it too ſeldom falls out to be ſo in a book war^c.

There

^b Mr. *James Wadſworth*, who died a penſioner of the holy inquiſition in *Seville*, was educated at *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, being a fellow-ſtudent and a chamber-fellow with Mr. *Bedel*. They were alſo beneficed in the ſame dioceſe; and they both left England at the ſame time. When Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treafurer to *Henry Prince of Wales*, went ambaffador to Spain, he took with him Mr. *Wadſworth* as his chaplain, who was prevailed on to change his religion, and entirely to abandon his native country, and was afterward appointed to teach the *Infanta* the *Engliſh* tongue, when the match betwixt Prince *Charles* and her was believed to be coneluded. "It appears," ſays Biſhop Burnet, "as if in theſe two, Mr. *Bedel* and Mr. *Wadſworth*, thoſe words of our Saviour had been to be verified—'*There ſhall be two*—'*in one bed, the one ſhall be taken and the other left.*' For as the one of theſe was wrought on to forſake his religion, the other was very near the being an inſtrument of a great and happy change in the Republic of Venice."

^c The collection of theſe letters forms a very valuable appendix to Biſhop Burnet's *Life of Biſhop Bedel*. Thoſe which paſſed between Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadſworth, on the converſion of the latter to Popery, diſcover that mildneſs and benignity of temper on the part of the former, which ſhould be preſerved in all controverſies. On the contrary, the acrimony and harſhneſs of Mr. *Joſeph Hall*, writing on the ſame ſubject, are truly reprehensible.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel; for the greatest part of which the reader is referred to this following letter of Sir Henry Wotton's, written to our late King Charles I.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

" HAVING been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes
 " of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither with a most humble
 " petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William
 " Bedel, now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk^a, Governor of your
 " college at Dublin, for the good of that society: And myself being re-
 " quired to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William
 " Bedel, who was long my chaplain at Venice in the time of my first em-
 " ployment there, I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your
 " Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him,
 " that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge could have been pro-
 " pounded unto your Majesty in your whole kingdom for singular erudi-
 " tion and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance
 " the cause of God; wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the
 " time of the excommunication of the Venetians.

" For it may please your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom
 " Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul; with whom he did commu-
 " nicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have
 " received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than
 " from any that he had ever practised in his days: of which all the passages
 " were well known to the king your father, of most blessed memory.
 " And so, with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office;
 " for the general fame of his learning, his life and Christian temper, and
 " those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, do
 " better describe him than I am able.

" Your Majesty's most humble and faithful servant,

" H. WOTTON."

^a Mr. Bedel had been presented by Sir Thomas Jermyn to the living of Horningsbeath, in Suffolk.

To this letter I shall add this, that he was, to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton, made Governor of the said college (August 1627); and that after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of Kilmore (September 3, 1629). In both which places his life was so holy, as seemed to equal the primitive Christians. For as they, so he kept all the Ember weeks, observed (besides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the feasts and fast-days of his mother, the Church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such as shewed his affections were set upon "things that are above;" for indeed his whole life brought forth the "fruits of the spirit;" there being in him such a remarkable meekness that, as St. Paul advised his Timothy in the election of a bishop, 1 *Tim.* iii. 7. "That he have a good report of those that be without;" so had he: For those that were without, even those that in point of religion were of the Roman persuasion (of which there were very many in his diocese), did yet (such is the power of visible piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence, and testified it by a concealing and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction of persons: and yet there and then he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary persuasion; and there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet prison^c (1629). And with him was lost many of his learned writings, which were thought worthy of preservation; and among the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years' labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the Irish tongue^f, with an intent to have it printed for public use.

More

^c Burnet's *Life of Bedel*, p. 180, 209.

^f This zealous prelate, desirous that the free use of the Scriptures should disseminate a knowledge of the true religion among the Irish, selected one *King*, a convert from Popery, who was supposed to be the most elegant writer of his native language then alive, whether in prose or verse. Though he was much advanced in years, the Bishop thought him not only capable of undertaking an Irish version of the Bible, but qualified for a higher character: He ordained him, gave him a benefice in his own diocese, and employed him in this useful work, directing him to found his version on the English translation. The good Bishop revised the whole: And it was his usual custom after dinner and supper to read over a chapter, and to compare it with the original Hebrew, the LXXII, and Diodati's Italian version. See Burnet's "*Life of Bishop Bedel*," p. 118, 119.

More might be said of Mr. Bedel, who, I told the reader, was Sir Henry Wotton's first chaplain, and much of his second chaplain Isaac Bargrave^g, Doctor in Divinity, and the late learned and hospitable Dean of Canterbury; as also of the merits of many others that had the happiness to attend Sir Henry in his foreign employments: But the reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eton college; and therefore I shall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther^h, and in it the history of the reformation as it was carried on in Germany. For the doing of which he had many advantages by his several embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several princes of the empire: By whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as is well known to his worthy friend Dr. Duppa, the late Reverend Bishop of Salisbury. But in the midst of this design, his late Majesty, King Charles I. that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did, by a persuasive loving violence, to which may be added a promise of five hundred pounds a year, force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the history of England: In which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but for the present meant to be more large in the story of Henry VI. the founder of that college; in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness,

^g Of this excellent divine, and the cruel treatment he and his family received from Colonel Sandys, see Mr. Todd's "Deans of Canterbury," p. 100. His *learning* and his hospitality are particularly noticed in the inscription on his monument: "Amæno ingenio pietatem et eruditionem ornavit;—gentibus exteris domique nobilibus gratissimus hospes hospitio generosissimo reposuit."

^h A life of this reformer, written with candour and impartiality, has long been a desideratum in the republic of letters. That which is extant in the English language, entitled "The Life and Death of Dr. Marter, the Passages whereof have bin taken out of his owne and other godly and most learned Men's Writings who lived in his time, 1 *Theff.* v. 12, 13," was printed in 1641, and is a mere literal translation from Melchior Adam.

ments of his present being. But Sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking; and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence¹.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the college, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which that great blessing of a cheerful heart was still maintained: He being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts^k, partly contracted in his foreign employments; for which his just arrears due from the King would have made satisfaction. But being still delayed with court-promises, and finding some decays of health, he did, about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire, that none should be a loser by him, make his Last Will. Concerning which, a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit, or conscionable policy? But there is no doubt, but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony, and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the reader, as it was found written with his own hand.

E e

J M

¹ Of this historical work a very small fragment is extant, written in the Latin language, with great elegance, and entitled "Henrici VI. Angliæ et Galliarum Regis, Hiberniæ Domini, Etonensis ad Tamesin Collegii Conditoris vita et excessus." Upon the King's return from Scotland, in 1633, Sir Henry Wotton wrote a Latin panegyric, printed in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," with this title, "Ad Regem e Scotiâ redûcem Henrici Wottoni Plausus et Vota."

^k "Sir Henry Wotton is at this time under arrest for three hundred pounds, upon execution, and lies by it. He was taken coming from the Lord Treasurer's, soliciting a debt of four thousand pounds, due to him from the King." (*Mr. Garrard to the Lord Deputy. Strassford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 338.*)

IN the name of God almighty and all-merciful, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesty's College by Eaton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do by this last Will and Testament, thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to the immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect, in the number of whom I am one by his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his holy Spirit, the true Eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chapel of the said College, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived, my God knows, in all loving affection; or, if I shall die near Boston Walherb, in the county of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish-Church, as near as may be to the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint, that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly. And considering that time moulders even marble to dust; for

“Monuments themselves must die¹.”

Therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirac adviseth all men) by a useful apothegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose

¹ “Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris.”

JUVEN. Sat. x. 146.

choose only this prudent, pious, sentence, to discover his disposition and preserve his memory.—It was directed by him to be thus inscribed :

HIC JACET HUIUS SENTENTIÆ PRIMUS AUTHOR,
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.

NOMEN ALIÀS QUÆRE.

Which may be Englished thus :

HERE LIES THE FIRST AUTHOR OF THIS SENTENCE,
THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF
THE CHURCH.

INQUIRE HIS NAME ELSEWHERE.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence, but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time ; to him I answer, that Solomon says, “ Nothing can be spoken, that hath not been spoken : For there is no new thing under the sun.” But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like sentence, yet reason mixed with charity should persuade all readers to believe, that Sir Henry Wotton’s mind was then so fixed on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view and censure of every critic. And questionless it will be charity in all readers to think his mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him ; and that in this sacred ecstacy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant,—into which he daily expected his admission ; and that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble piety ; and

where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think; and where, as our reverend Hooker^m says, "Former Simplicity, and Softness of Spirit, is not now to be found, because, Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness." It will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph: The rest of his will follows in his own words.

Further, I the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joint executors of this my last Will and Testament, my two grand-nephews, Albert Wotton, second son to Sir Robert Wotton, Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece. And I do pray the aforesaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrisonⁿ, one of the Fellows of Eaton College, best acquainted with my books and pictures, and other utensils, to be supervisors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do pray the aforesaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages as shall appear due unto me

^m Such was the ancient simplicity and softness of spirit, which sometimes prevailed in the world, that they, whose words were even as oracles amongst men, seemed evermore loth to give sentence against any thing publicly received in the church of God, except it were wonderfully apparently evil; for that they did not so much incline to that severity, which delighteth to reprove the least things it seeth amiss, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing, that duty bindeth to reprove. The state of this present age, wherein Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness, will not now suffer any man to marvel, whatsoever he shall hear reprov'd, by whomsoever. (*Hooker's Eccles. Book IV. Sect. I.*)

ⁿ Mr. J. Harrison was elected Fellow of Eton college, October 28, 1636. He was probably that learned and eminent divine, whom Anthony Wood mentions as the author of "A Vindication of the Holy Scriptures, or the Manifestation of Jesus Christ the true Messiah, already come." London, 1658. (*Ath. Ox. Vol. II. p. 991.*)

me from his Majesty's Exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my fore-named executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and discharge of my legacies now specified; or that shall be hereafter added unto this my Testament by any codicil or schedule, or left in the hands or in any memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison.

And first, to my most dear Sovereign and Master, of incomparable goodness, (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest man,) I leave four pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there employed, with their names written on the backside; which hang in my great ordinary diningroom, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto^o: Likewise a table of the Venetian College, where ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous D. Leonardo Donato^o, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. Item, The picture of a Duke of Venice, hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano^o, or some other principal hand, long before my time.

Wot.

^o This artist is mentioned in a very scarce volume, entitled, "Zanetti della pittura Veneziana," as a painter and engraver, and a native of Bologna. "Odvardo Fialetti, Bolognese. Vile lango tempo e mori poi questo Pittore in Venezia allevato nella scuola del Tintoretto; e fece studii assai regolati nell' arte. Il genio suo non fa tuttavia de piu vivaci e focosi." p. 502. Several of his pictures are in five of the churches of Venice; and he is celebrated for having engraved with great correctness two pictures of Tintoretto, now at Venice, in the "Scuola di S. Rocco;" the one representing St. Sebastian, the other the Marriage of Cana.

^p Of this celebrated artist, the most universal genius of all the Lombard School, the best colourist of all the moderns, and the most eminent for histories, landscapes, and portraits. See "Dryden's Frenoy's Art of Painting," p. 267.—Sir Henry Wotton, during his residence at Venice, purchased several very valuable paintings for the Duke of Buckingham: Among others was probably the "Ecc Homo" of Titian, which was afterwards valued at 5000l. and bought by the Archduke Leopold, who added it to his own collection in the Castle of Prague. See "Cabala," p. 398.

Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said pieces may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.

Item, I leave his said Majesty all the papers and negociations of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Knight^a, during his famous employment, under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France; which contain divers secrets of state, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton his son^b, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust.

Item, I leave to our most gracious and virtuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolo^c in the best language of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful Prince, the picture of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent
virtues

^a Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was eminent for his abilities in state affairs, and often sent by Queen Elizabeth ambassador to foreign courts. Of him Sir Francis Walsingham, lamenting the loss sustained by his death, writes thus in a letter to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. "Be it spoken without offence of any, for counsel in peace, and conduct in war, he hath not left of like sufficiency his successor that I know of." (*Supplement to Collins's Peerage*, p. 90. See also *Kenner's Complete History*, &c. Vol. II. p. 430.)

^b Thomas Lord Wotton, son of Edward, the first Lord Wotton, and nephew to Sir Henry Wotton, married Mary the daughter and one of the coheirs of Sir Arthur Throgmorton of Pauler Perry in Northamptonshire.

^c A physician of the 16th century, who published his commentaries on Dioscorides, adorned with large wooden prints. Of the great value set upon this work, see "Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith," p. 213.

virtues through the clouds of her fortune. To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury^r now being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's galleries, of my presentation to his Majesty; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London^u, Lord High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at, the world: Most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life-time, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my long services (wherein I more studied the public honour, than mine own utility), some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last Will and Testament, shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble; hoping likewise in his Majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my said arrears.

To ———, for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave, as emblems of his attractive virtues and obliging nobleness, my great Loadstone, and a piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, A piece of Crystal Sexangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhaetian Alps, in the very place where it grew; recommending most
humbly

^r Archbishop Laud.

^u Juxon, Bishop of London, was made Lord High Treasurer of England in 1635, through the interest of Archbishop Laud.

humbly unto his Lordship, the reputation of my poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the fore-named Spiritual Lords, and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured person. Item, I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State (whom I found my great friend in point of necessity) the Four Seasons of old Bassano*, to hang near the eye in his parlour (being in little form), which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.

To the above-named Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise, my Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy; in which country I first contracted with him an unremovable affection. To my other Supervisor, Mr. Nicholas Poy, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Engines of all kinds of uses: in the lower box whereof are some * fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pounds for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears; and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign employments. To the Library at Eaton College, I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the fellows a plain Ring of gold, enameled black, all save the verge, with this motto within, AMOR UNIT OMNIA.

This is my Last Will and Testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed, written on the first of October, in the present year of our Redemption, 1657, and subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these witnesses.

NICH. OUDERT.

HENRY WOTTON.

GEO. LASH.

* Giacomo da Ponte da Bassano, so called from the place of his birth in the Marca Treviana, in 1510, was a celebrated artist, who excelled in rural scenery and animals. He died at the age of 82, leaving four sons, two of whom were distinguished painters. (*Dryden's Preface to the Art of Painting*, p. 290.)

* In it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

AND now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will did gladly receive their legacies: By which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the King (than whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton-Hall, where he would say, "He found a cure for all cares; by the cheerful company," which he called "the living furniture of the place:" and "a restoration of" "his strength, by the connaturalness of" that which he called "his genial" "air."

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester college, to which school he was first removed from Bocton. And as he returned from Winchester towards Eton college, said to a friend, his companion in that journey, "How useful" "was that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his friend to perform" "his customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place we usually" "meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there; and" "I find it thus far experimentally true, that at my now being in that school," "and seeing that very place where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me" "to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me:" "sweet thoughts, indeed, that promised my growing years numerous plea-

F f

"fures

✓ In this year he wrote his letter to Milton, who then lived near Eton, thanking him for his present of "Comus," which he calls "A dainty peece of entertainment; wherein," he adds, "I should much commend the tragical part, if the lyrical did not ravish me" "with a certain Dorique delicacy in your songs and odes, whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language: ipsa mollities." (*Reliq. Wotton.* p. 343.)

Milton has commended this letter in his "Defensio Secunda Populi Anglicani." "Abeuntem vir clarissimus Henricus Wootonus, qui ad Venetos Orator Jacobi Regis diu fuerat, et votis et præceptis eunti peregre sane utilissimis *eleganti epistolâ* perscriptis amicissimè profectus est."

“fures without mixtures of cares”, and those to be enjoyed when time
 “(which I therefore thought slow paced) had changed my youth into man-
 “hood.—But age and experience have taught me that those were but
 “empty hopes; for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretel,
 “‘*Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.*’ Nevertheless I saw there a suc-
 “cession of boys, using the same recreations, and, unquestionless, possessed
 “with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation
 “succeeds another; both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death.”

After his return from Winchester to Eton, which was about five months
 before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative: in
 which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales (the learned Mr. John
 Hales), then a fellow of that college, to whom upon an occasion he spake
 to this purpose: “I have, in my passage to my grave, met with most of
 “those joys of which a discursive soul is capable; and been entertained
 “with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made par-
 “takers of:” Nevertheless in this voyage I have not always floated on the
 “calm sea of content; but have often met with cross-winds and storms,
 “and with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet,
 “though I have been and am a man compassed about with human frailties,
 “Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making *shipwreck*
 “*of faith and a good conscience*, the thought of which is now the joy of my
 “heart; and I most humbly praise him for it: And I humbly acknowledge
 “that it was not myself, but he that hath kept me to this great age, and let
 “him take the glory of his great mercy.—And, my dear friend, I now see
 “that I draw near my harbour of death; that harbour that will secure me
 “from all the future storms and waves of this restless world; and I praise
 “God

“Ah, happy hills! Ah, pleasing shade!
 “Ah, fields below’d in vain!
 “Where once my careless childhood stray’d,
 “A stranger yet to pain!
 “I feel the gales that from ye blow
 “A momentary bliss bestow,
 “As waving fresh their gladsome wing
 “My weary soul they seem to sooth,
 “And, redolent of joy and youth,
 “To breathe a second spring.”

GRAY’S Ode on a distant Prospect of Eton College.

"God I am willing to leave it and expect a better; that world *wherein dwelleth righteousness; and I long for it.*"

These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma or short spitting. But after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do; he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition; and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which, though he he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him, came now both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his cheerfulness; of both which he grew more sensible; and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth and in the busy part of his life, useless; by a fire made there to that purpose. These, and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to foretel that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear, as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man^a.

F f 2

And

* The following exquisitely beautiful hymn was written by him in his sickness:

"O thou great Power, in whom I move

"For whom I live, to whom I die!

"Behold me thro' thy beams of love,

"Whilst on this couch of tears I lie,

" And

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life—that circle which began at Boston, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester school, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom—that circle of his life was by death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy-second year of his age, at Eton college, where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain gravestone over him. Dying worthy of his name and family; worthy of the love and favour of so many princes and persons of eminent wisdom and learning; worthy of the trust committed unto him for the service of his prince and country.

And all readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen to have preserved his memory and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

HIZ. WA.

- “ And cleanse my fordid soul within
- “ By thy Christ's blood, the bath of sin.
- “ No hallow'd oils, no grains I need,
- “ No rags of saints, no purging fire;
- “ One rosy drop from David's seed
- “ Was worlds of seas to quench thine ire.
- “ O, precious ransom! which, once paid,
- “ That *consummatum est* was said;
- “ And said by-him that said no more,
- “ But seal'd it with his dying breath.
- “ Thou then that hast dispung'd my score,
- “ And dying wast the death of Death,
- “ Be to me now, on thee I call,
- “ My life, my strength, my joy, my all.”

ELEGY ON SIR HENRY WOTTON,

WRITTEN BY

Mr. ABRAM COWLEY.

WHAT shall we say, since silent now is he,
Who when he spoke all things would silent be.
Who had so many languages in store,
That only Fame shall speak of him in more.
Whom England now no more return'd must see;
He's gone to heav'n on his fourth embassy.
On earth he travell'd often, not to say
He'd been abroad to pass loose time away;
For in whatever land he chanc'd to come,
He read the men and manners; bringing home

Their

"Every thing which Cowley wrote," says the editor of his select works, "is either so good or so bad, that in all reason a separation should be made." His Elegy on the death of Sir Henry Wotton is classed by him among the latter, as he has not inserted it in his "Collection of Cowley's Poems." Dr. Johnson entertains a more favourable opinion of it: By him it is pronounced to be vigorous and happy, the series of thoughts easy and natural, and the conclusion, though a little weakened by the intrusion of Alexander, elegant and forcible. Denham has remarked of Cowley,

"To him no author was unknown,

"Yet what he writ was all his own."

The last lines of this elegy bear so strong a resemblance to an epigram of Grotius upon the death of Joseph Scaliger, that the great critic above quoted thinks them copied from it, though they are copied by no servile hand. Joseph Scaliger, like Sir Henry Wotton, was celebrated for his accurate knowledge of languages. Grotius composed four elegies on the death of this eminent scholar.

That which Cowley is supposed to have imitated begins with these lines——

"Hic jacet et Gades super exauditus et Indos

"Scaliger, hic mundi publica lingua jacet."

Their wisdom, learning, and their piety,
 As if he went to conquer not to see.
 So well he understood the most and best
 Of tongues that Babel sent into the West;
 Spoke them so truly, that he had (you'd swear)
 Not only liv'd but been born every where.
 Justly each nation's speech to him was known;
 Who for the world was made, not us alone.
 Nor ought the language of that man be less,
 Who in his breast had all things to express:
 We say that learning's endless, and blame Fate
 For not allowing life a longer date.
 He did the utmost bounds of knowledge find,
 And found them not so large as was his mind;
 But, like the brave Pellean youth^d, did moan,
 Because that art had no more worlds than one.
 And when he saw that he through all had past,
 He dy'd lest he should idle grow at last.

A. COWLEY.

^c Sir Henry Wotton's most important embassies were those to Venice. To that republic he was thrice sent ambassador from James I.

^d "Unus Pellao juveni non sufficit orbis."

JUVEN. Sat. X. 168.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON is addressed as a poet by Bastard the epigrammatist, in the following lines :

" Wotton, the country and the country swaine,
" How can they yeelde a poet any sence ?
" How can they stirre him up or heal his vaine ?
" How can they feed him with intelligence ?
" You have that fire which can a wit enflame
" In happy London, England's fayrest eye :
" Well may you poets have of worthy name
" Which have the foode and life of poetry.
" And yet the country or the towne may sway
" Or bear a part, as clownes doe in a play."

His poems were collected by Isaac Walton, and inserted in "RELIQUIÆ WOTTONIANÆ; or, a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems with Characters of sundry Personages, and other incomparable Pieces of Language and Art: By the curious Pencil of the ever memorable Sir Henry Wotton, K^t. late Provost of Eton College, 1651." In the fourth edition which appeared in 1685, is the valuable addition of letters to the Lord Zouch.

This collection contains the "TREATISE on the ELEMENTS of ARCHITECTURE," first published in 1624, 4to. This Treatise is still held in great estimation, has been translated into Latin, and annexed to the works of Vitruvius, and to Freart's "Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern."

Besides the pieces in "The Remains," Sir Henry Wotton wrote

I. "A JOURNAL of his EMBASSIES to ROME."

II. "THREE PROPOSITIONS to the COURT of ANGOSCIOLA, in MATTERS of DUELS."

III. "The STATE of CHRISTENDOM; or, a most exact and curious Discovery of many secret Passages and hidden Mysteries of the Times: Written by the renowned Sir Henry Wotton, K^t. Ambassadour in Ordinary to the Most Serene Republique of Venice, and late Provost of Eaton College." *London*, 1657. To which is added "A SUPPLEMENT to the HISTORY of the STATE of CHRISTENDOM." Reprinted in 1677.

This work was begun about the year 1599, during Sir Henry Wotton's first residence at Venice, after his hasty departure from England.

THE LIFE
OF
MR. RICHARD HOOKER,
THE AUTHOR OF THOSE LEARNED BOOKS
OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

THE LIFE

MR. RICHARD HOOPER

OF THE LAW OF REAL ESTATE

OF THE LAW OF REAL ESTATE

TO HIS VERY WORTHY FRIEND

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

Upon his writing and publishing the LIFE of the venerable and judicious

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

I.

HAIL, sacred mother^a! British Church, all hail!
From whose fruitful loins have sprung
Of pious sons so great a throng
That Heav'n t'oppose their force, of strength did fail,
And let the mighty conqu'rors o'er Almighty arms prevail;
How art thou chang'd from what thou wert a late!
When destitute and quite forlorn,
And scarce a child of thousands with thee left to mourn,
Thy veil all rent, and all thy garments torn:
With tears thou didst bewail thine own and children's fate.
Too much, alas! thou didst resemble then
Sion thy pattern—Sion in ashes laid,
Despis'd, forsaken, and betray'd;
Sion thou dost resemble once agen,
And, rais'd like her, the glory of the world art made.
Threnes only to thee could that time belong,
But now thou art the lofty subject of my song.

G g 2

Begin,

^a The church of England emerging from those dreadful calamities in which she had been involved by the artifices of those men, who, under the pretence of zeal for the cause of religion, meditated her entire destruction, is here not unaptly pourtrayed under the figure of an afflicted parent——

“ Her veil all rent, and all her garments torn.”

She was then the subject of elegiac lamentation. The scene is happily changed; and she is here addressed in the language of praise and exultation.

II.

Begin, my verse, and where the doleful mother sat^b
 (As it in vision was to Esdras shown)
 Lamenting, with the rest, her dearest son,
 Bless'd Charles, who his forefathers has outgone,
 And to the royal join'd the martyr's brighter crown,
 Let a new city rise with beauteous state,
 And beauteous let its temple be, and beautiful the gate!
 Lo! how the sacred fabric up does rise!
 The architects so skilful all,
 So grave, so humble, and so wise;
 The axe's and the hammer's noise
 Is drown'd in silence or in numbers musical^c:
 'Tis up, and at the altar stand
 The reverend fathers as of old,
 With harps and incense in their hand.
 Nor let the pious service grow or stiff or cold;
 Th' inferior priests, the while,
 To praise continually employ'd or pray,
 Need not the weary hours beguile,
 Enough's the single duty of each day.
 Thou thyself, Woodford, on thy humbler pipe may'st play,
 And tho' but lately enter'd there^d,
 So gracious those thou honour'st all appear,
 So ready and attent to hear
 An easy part, proportioned to thy skill, may'st bear.

But

^b See 2 Esdras, from chap. ix. 38, to the end of the tenth chapter.

^c See 1 Kings vi. 7.

^d Dr. Woodford, the author of this poem, was ordained by Bishop Morley in the year in which these verses were written.

III.

But where, alas? where wilt thou fix thy choice?
 The subjects are so noble all,
 So great their beauties and thy art so small,
 They'll judge, I fear, themselves disparag'd by thy voice:
 Yet try, and since thou canst not take
 A name so despicably low,
 But 'twill exceed what thou canst do,
 Tho' thy whole mite thou away at once shouldst throw,
 Thy poverty a virtue make:
 And, that thou may'st immortal live,
 (Since immortality thou canst not give)
 From one who has enough to spare be ambitious to receive.
 Of reverend and judicious Hooker sing;
 Hooker does to the church belong,
 The church and Hooker claim thy song,
 And inexhausted riches to thy verse will bring;
 So far beyond itself will make it grow;
 That life, his gift to thee, thou shalt again on him bestow.

IV.

How great, blest soul, must needs thy glories be!
 Thy joys how perfect, and thy crown how fair!
 Who mad'st the church thy chiefest care;
 This church which owes so much to thee,
 That all her sons are studious of thy memory.
 'Twas a bold work the captiv'd to redeem,
 And not so only, but th' oppress'd to raise
 (Our aged mother) to that due esteem
 She had and merited in her younger days.
 When primitive zeal and piety
 Were all her laws and policy,
 And decent worship kept the mean;
 Its too wide stretch'd extremes between;

The rudely scrupulous and extravagantly vain——
 This was the work of Hooker's pen.
 With judgment, candor, and such learning writ,
 Matter and words so exactly fit
 That were it to be done agen,
 Expected 'twould be as its answer hitherto has been.

RITORNATA.

To Chelsea*, song; there tell thy master's friend
 The church is Hooker's debtor—Hooker his;
 And strange 'twould be if he should glory miss
 For whom two such most powerfully contend:
 Bid him cheer up, the day's his own,
 And he shall never die,
 Who, after sev'nty's past and gone,
 Can all th' assaults of age defy;
 Is master still of so much youthful heat,
 A child so perfect and so sprightly to beget.

BENSTEAD, HANTS, }
 March 10, 1669. }

SAM. WOODFORD.

* The residence of Morley Bishop of Winchester, whose liberality appropriated to the use of his successors a magnificent house at Chelsea, which he had purchased for four thousand pounds. He obtained an act of Parliament, by which that house was declared to be within the diocese of Winchester. Such was his known beneficence, that on his promotion to the see of Winchester, Charles II. said of him, "That notwithstanding its vast revenue he would be never the richer for it."

† The author of these verses, Dr. Samuel Woodford, was born in 1636, and having been a commoner of Wadham College, in Oxford, he took his first degree in arts, and afterward removed to the Inner Temple, where he was chamber-fellow with Mr. Flatman, the poet. In 1669, he was ordained by Morley Bishop of Winchester, and being created Doctor of Divinity by a diploma from Archbishop Sancroft, was preferred to a prebend in the church at Winchester. He composed a Paraphrase on the Psalms, commended by Mr. Richard Baxter, as also on the Canticles, with many original poems, and translations from the Greek, Latin, Spanish, and Italian writers. He died in 1700. (*Wood's Athen. Ox.*)

TO THE READER.

I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Mr. Hooker. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written; yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be many material mistakes, and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller^s, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the Bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty business and want of time made him pass over many things without that due examination, which my better leisure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify: for, though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions, yet

^s Dr. Thomas Fuller, celebrated as a biographer and an historian, was educated at Cambridge, having been first admitted of Queen's College, from whence, being incapacitated by the statutes from succeeding to a fellowship, he removed to Sidney College. He died in 1661. He was a general scholar, had a prodigious memory, a quick wit, a luxuriant fancy and invention, but not the most exact judgment. Such was his moderation during the time of the civil wars, that by one party, before whom he preached, he was called "a hot Royalist;" while, for his discourses before the King and Court at Oxford, he was blamed as being too lukewarm. Soon after the restoration he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, being also in a well-grounded expectation of some present farther advancement; but here death stepped in, and drew the curtain between him and the ecclesiastical dignities that awaited him. His laborious but imperfect "History of the Worthies of England" is considered as the most valuable of his works. See his account of Mr. Hooker in "The Church History of Britain," B. IX. p. 214, 217, 235. (*Eckard's History of England*, vol. III. p. 71.—*Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller*, p. 5, 53.)

yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader, I shall rather leave him at liberty: But if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectify any such mistake in a second impression, which the printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak, but faithful, endeavours may become a better monument, and, in some degree, more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages many eminent scholars and admirers of him have had by his labours; I do not a little wonder that in sixty years no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more at myself that I have been persuaded to it; and indeed I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my introduction shall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded by a friend, that I ought to obey, to write The Life of Richard Hooker^f, the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness, foreseeing that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to inquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death (now sixty-four years past) but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence such observations and prognosticks, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me (for I consider the age in which I live); and shall therefore but intreat of my reader a suspension of them, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now fain believe, do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: And if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity; and this is all I can probably hope for.—My reasons follow:

About forty years past (for I am now in the seventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God) grand-
H h nephew

^f Isaac Walton's edition of 1675 has been followed in the preceding lives of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton. It is thought expedient to deviate from that edition in the Life of Mr. Hooker, by adopting that which was last revised by Walton, and is prefixed to his works printed at London in 1723, and at Oxford in 1793, yet without admitting those passages which Mr. Strype has introduced into the text.

nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: One of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend, and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following discourse; as also their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two fore-named sisters, had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's-Born near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had, I say, a great part of their education with him, as myself, since that time, a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Doctor Usher^a, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh; and with Doctor Morton, the late learned and charitable^b Bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales, of

^a The character of this eminent Prelate is happily expressed in the eulogium of the University of Oxford, inscribed on his portrait, which was ordered to be prefixed to his edition of The Epistles of Ignatius. "Jacobus Usserius, Archiepiscopus Armachanus, totius Hybernæ Primas, Antiquitatis primævæ peritissimus, orthodoxæ Religionis Vindex ἀναρτισπυρος, Errorum malleus, in concionando frequens, facundus, præpotens, vitæ inculpatæ exemplar "spectabile."

^b How properly this epithet is applied to this excellent person appears, from his behaviour in 1602, in the earlier period of his life, while the plague raged at York. The poorer sort of the infected, being turned out of their habitations, had booths erected for them at a moor near the city; for whose comfort and relief in that fatal extremity, Mr. Morton often repaired to them from
Marston,

of Eaton College, and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by perswasion I have now undertaken. But though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend. In the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

H h. 2

Marston, to preach unto them, and to minister consolation to their languishing souls, having withal provisions of meat carried with him in sacks, to relieve the poorest sort with. But as often as he went thither, he suffered not any servant to attend him, but himself saddled and unsaddled his horse, and he had a private door made through the wall of his study (being the utmost part of the house) for prevention, lest he might bring the contagion with him and endanger his whole family. (*Richard Baddiley's Life of Bishop Morton.*)—Having thus laid the foundation of virtue when in a more private and humble station, he built upon it a most noble superstructure. His various actions of splendid liberality and extensive beneficence, through the whole course of a long life, are only to be equalled by the magnanimity which he displayed in his great sufferings. By his will, dated Feb. 20, 1658, and proved Oct. 1, 1660, when he had little or nothing left, he bequeathed his chalice to All-Saints Church in York, and ten pounds to the poor of the parish where he died, which was at Easton-Maudit, in Northamptonshire. In his epitaph he is declared—“Bonis exutus omnibus, bonâ
“præterquam Famâ et Conscientiâ.”

THE LIFE OF RICHARD HOOKER.

IT is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born within the precincts¹, or in the city of Exeter. A city which may justly boast, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley^k; as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewell^l,

¹ On the east of Exeter is a parish church, called Heavy-Tree, memorable for the birth of Mr. Hooker, the judicious author of "The Ecclesiastical Polity," and of that great civilian, Dr. Arthur Duck. (*Camden's Britannia.*)

^k Sir T. Bodley was the founder, or rather the restorer of the public library at Oxford, which was originally begun by Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. and collected together, and considerably enlarged two libraries, one founded by Richard of Bury, from his great love of books, usually called Philo-biblos, Bishop of Durham in the reign of Ed. III. and another by Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester.—"Illa Bodlei Industria plusquam humana; illa tot Linguarum Artiumque infinita Comprehensio doctos tantum egit in Stuporem; at illa incredibilis Morum Suavitas, ille in Congressibus Gestuque toto Lepos et veluti Atticismus quidam doctos indoctosque juxta cepit." (*Orat. Funebr. I. Hales.*)—"King James, in 1605, when he came to see our University of Oxford, and amongst other edifices now went to view that famous library renewed by Sir Thomas Bodley, in imitation of Alexander, at his departure broke out into that noble speech. *If I were not a king, I would be an university man. And if it were so, that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would desire to have no other prison than that library, and to be chained together with so many good authors and mortuis magistris.*" (*Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part I. Sect. II. p. 177.*)

^l Dr. John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the brightest ornaments of the reformed religion, the celebrated author of "The Apology of the Church of England;" a work ever to be commended for the classic elegance of its language, and the nervous strength of its argumentation. It attracted the notice of the Council of Trent, who passed a very severe censure upon it, and though a refutation of it was undertaken by a Spanish and Italian Bishop,

Sir Francis Drake^m, Sir Walter Raleighⁿ, and many others memorable for their valour and learning°. He was born about the year of our Redemption, one thousand five hundred fifty and three; and of parents that were not

Bishop, it remains yet unanswered. Originally written in Latin, it was translated into the Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch languages. To Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and many other foreign Protestants, it gave infinite satisfaction. An English version by a lady, Anne the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, and the wife of the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, was published for the use of the common people in 1564, and ordered to be kept in every parish-church throughout England and Wales. This great and good prelate, having impaired his constitution, as well by the fatigues he underwent when abroad, as by an incessant application to his studies, died Sept. 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age.—Of his noble challenge to the learned of his adversaries, or to all the learned men that be alive. See “*Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*,” Vol. IV. p. 220.

- “Juelle, Mater quem tulit Devonis,
- “Nutrixque fovit erudita Oxonia,
- “Quem Maria ferro et igne patriâ expulit;
- “Virtus reduxit, præfulem fecit parens
- “Elizabètha docta doctarum artium:
- “Pulvis pusillus te sepulchri hic contègit,
- “Quam parva tellus nomen ingens occulit!”

BUCHANANI POEMATATA, p. 3, 60.

^m Sir Francis Drake, the first captain who achieved the circumnavigation of the globe, was the son of a private clergyman in Devonshire. See “*Prince’s Worthies of Devon*,” p. 239, and his Life in Dr. Johnson’s Works, Vol. XII. p. 63.

ⁿ Prince’s Worthies; &c. p. 530, says:—“Who hath not known or read of this prodigy of wit and fortune, Sir Walter Raleigh, a man unfortunate in nothing but in the greatness of his wit and advancement, whose eminent worth was such both in domestic policy, foreign expeditions, and discoveries in art and literature; both practick and contemplative, that it might seem at once to conquer example and imitation.” (*Howell’s Familiar Letters*, p. 387.) This great man fell a victim to the jealousy of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. No one encountered danger with more intrepidity and firmness: Yet his character never shone with greater lustre, than when he patiently sustained the injurious and indecent language of the Attorney-General, Coke, at his trial.

° Mr. Prince, in the dedication of his “*Danmonii Orientales Illustres*,” or “*The Worthies of Devon*,” observes, that “he presents to the view of the reader such an illustrious troop of heroes as no other country in the kingdom, no other kingdom (in so small a tract) in Europe in all respects is able to match, much less excel.”

not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony, and that nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow, even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but a gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a schoolboy, he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive^p; "Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered?" "Why this was granted, and that denied?" This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age^q.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This

^p Principium est scientiæ quærere, et principium quærendi dubitare.

^q The age was, perhaps, not wiser, though it might be more knowing in some respects.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved *so it should be*. And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the *seeds of piety*, those conscientious principles of *loving and fearing God; of an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man, what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is caught in his own snare*. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour, both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar) was very solicitous with John Hooker^r, then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the university, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some college; still urging and assuring him that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These

^r John Hooker, alias Vowell, was born at Exeter, in 1524, of a very creditable family, being the second son of Robert Hooker, Mayor of that city. Having received his education at Oxford, where he studied the Civil Law, he travelled into Germany, and at Cologne kept his exercises in law, and took his degree there. Next he went to Strasbourg, and sojourned with Peter Martyr, by whom he was instructed in divinity. Returning home after a short stay, he travelled into France, and was prevented from proceeding into Italy and Spain by the French declaration of war against England. Hence he retired to his native town, whereof he became the first Chamberlain in 1554, and was chosen one of the Citizens for the same in the Parliament, holden at Westminster in 1571. He died in 1601, at the age of near eighty years. He assisted Holinshed in his Chronicles, and is mentioned by several writers with singular respect as an antiquary, and an historian of great accuracy and fidelity.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This promise was made about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary; and the learned John Jewel (after Bishop of Salisbury) having been in the first of this queen's reign expelled* out of Corpus Christi college in Oxford (of which he was a fellow), for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented in the days of her brother and predecessor Edward VI. and he, having now a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation, and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and state did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire†, in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

I i

In:

* This good man was one of the first victims to Popish resentment after the accession of Queen Mary, being expelled by seven of the fellows of his college, for attending Peter Martyr's lectures in divinity; for preaching doctrines contrary to Popery; for receiving ordination by the new form, and refusing to be present at mass. He concluded his valedictory speech, delivered on occasion of his expulsion, with these words: "Valeant studia, valeant hæc tecta, valeat sedes cultissima literarum, valeat jucundissimus conspectus vestri: valete juvenes, valete socii, valete fratres, valete oculi mei, omnes valete." His temporary dereliction of the Protestant faith, which happened soon afterward, affords a melancholy instance of the imbecility of human nature to withstand the attempts of insidious artifice. But, like Cranmer, he burst forth with sevenfold splendor from that momentary eclipse which obscured his fame.

† "Mr. Jewel was appointed for the western circuit, and so it fell out fitly that he presented the first-born of his labours in the ministry, after his return from exile, in Devonshire, and parts adjacent; there first breaking the bread of life where first he received the breath of life; where he endeavoured more to win his countrymen to embrace the reformation by preaching and good usage, than to terrify and awe them by that great authority the Queen's majesty had armed him with." (*Prince's Worthies*, &c. p. 422.)

In the third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good and oblige his friends, and now a power added to it, John Hooker gave him a visit at Salisbury, "and besought him, for charity's sake, to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop would, therefore, become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes." And though the bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him, about Easter next following, at that place; which was done accordingly: and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave the schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was performed. For, about the fourteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was, by the bishop, appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then president of Corpus Christi college; which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds*) and a clerk's place in that college; which place,

* Dr. William Cole, in 1599, exchanged with Dr. John Reynolds the presidency of Corpus Christi College for the deanery of Lincoln, which he did not long enjoy. He fled into Germany in the time of Queen Mary, and Anthony Wood names him as one of the exiles at Geneva engaged with Miles Coverdale and others in a new translation of the Bible. He mistakes him for his brother Thomas Cole, mentioned in "Lewis's History of the several Translations of the Bible," p. 206.

* The great prodigy of learning in his time, Crakanthorp, under whom he was educated, applied to him what was said of Athanasius. "To name Reynolds is to commend virtue itself." "He alone," says Bishop Hall, in his "Decad of Epistles," (Dec. I. Ep. 7.) "was a well-furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning: the memory, the reading of that man were near to a miracle." He was the great champion of Protestantism against Bellarmine.

"Cum vibrat doctæ Reynoldus fulmina linguæ,
"Romanus trepidat Jupiter, et merito."

Having

place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even, like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Augustine did that he might become a true Christian, and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention

I i 2

with

Having succeeded Dr. Cole as President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, he died May 21, 1607. Whilst he was public professor of divinity at Oxford, he was involved in a controversy "on the Authority of the Scripture Chronology," with Hugh Broughton, a vain and arrogant man, though the first scholar of his age in oriental literature. From the active part which he took in the conference at Hampton Court, he is classed amongst "the pillars of puritanism and the grand favourers of nonconformity." Yet it ought never to be forgotten, that to his exertions we are principally indebted for that noble version of the Bible which is now in use. Fuller asserts, "that his disaffection to the discipline established in England was not so great as some bishops did suspect, or as more nonconformists did believe. No doubt, he desired the abolishing of some ceremonies for the ease of the conscience of others, to which in his own practice he did willingly submit, constantly wearing hood and surplice, and kneeling at the sacrament. On his death-bed he earnestly desired absolution, according to the form of the church of England, and received it from Dr. Holland, whose hand he affectionately kissed in expression of the joy he received thereby." (*Fuller's Church History, Book X. p. 48.*)

It has been related that *John Reynolds* was brought up in the church of Rome, whilst his brother *William* was educated a Protestant: and that the two brothers, meeting together one day, disputed with so much energy, that each of them changed his religion on conviction from the other's arguments. This circumstance gave occasion to a copy of verses, concluding with this distich,

"Quod genus hoc pugna est? ubi victus gaudet uterque,
"Et simul alteruter se superasse dolet."

To this *William Reynolds* has been ascribed an English New Testament in quarto, printed at Rheims, in 1582, translated from the vulgate Latin, and retaining many Hebrew, Greek, and Latin words, with an apparent intention of rendering the text less intelligible to common readers.

with much joy, and pray that he “ might never live to occasion any sorrow “ to so good a mother”; whom, he would often say, he loved so dearly, that “ he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her sake, as for his “ own.”

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from his sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money or their humility made it so: But on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the bishop’s parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him; and at Richard’s return the bishop said to him, “ Richard, I sent for you back to lend “ you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with “ much ease² ;” and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, “ Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be “ honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats², to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your “ mother, and tell her, I send her a bishop’s benediction with it, and beg the

¹ The tender anxiety of *Monica*, the wife of *Patricius*, and mother of *St. Augustine*, for the reform and conversion of her son, was abundantly recompensed by his extraordinary piety. “ Misisti, Domine, manum tuam ex alto, et de hâc profundâ caligine eruisti animam meam, “ cum pro me ploraret ad te mater mea, fidelis tua, amplius quam flent matres corporea funera.” (*Augustin. Confess. L. III. C. ii.*)

² While Bishop Jewel was a pupil at Oxford, the plague, which prevailed there, occasioned his removal into a country village, where he pursued his studies in a low and damp lodging-room. Thus contracting a cold, he got a lameness, which affected him to his death. Yet, notwithstanding this, most of his journeys in Germany, as well as in England, were undertaken on foot.

² It is well known that pieces of ten groats, or three shillings and fourpence, were current at this time.

“ the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the college : and so God blefs you, good Richard.”

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But alas ! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer ; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, “ Whether his last ejaculations or his soul did first enter into heaven^b ? ”

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear : of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron ; and of fear for his future subsistence. But Mr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him, that he should neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmost of his hopes), for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, or not much longer ; for about that time the following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin

^b “ It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he “ prayed dying, and died praying.” (*Fuller.*)—The circumstances that attended his death are related in “ Prince’s Worthies,” p. 428. The following beautiful lines upon him were written by Fuller :

“ Holy learning, sacred arts,
“ Gifts of nature, strength of parts,
“ Fluent grace, an humble mind,
“ Worth reform’d, and wit refin’d,
“ Sweetness both in tongue and pen,
“ Insight both in books and men,
“ Hopes in wo, and fears in weal,
“ Humble knowledge, sprightly zeal,
“ A lib’ral heart, and free from gall,
“ Close to friend and true to all,
“ Height of courage in truth’s duel,
“ Are the stones that made this JEWEL.
“ Let him that would be truly blest
“ Wear this Jewel in his breast.”

FULLER’S *Abel redivivus*, p. 314.

Edwin Sandys^c (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where, for many years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany^d; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship, as time did not blot out, but lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in 1571. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, Jewel began a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge^e, where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin^f should be sent to Corpus Christi college in Oxford, and by all means be

^c Dr. Edwin Sandys was born at Hawkshead in Westmoreland, where he founded a grammar-school. When he was reproached with being neither gentleman nor honest man, he answered "that he would not contend for gentry, but would defend his honesty; that his father was an honest man, and served the King, and was a justice of peace in his country." He and Jewel were two of the eight divines appointed by Queen Elizabeth to hold a conference with an equal number of Romanists, before the two Houses of Parliament, on certain great controversial points of their religion. While he was Archbishop of York, he spent the greater part of his time in retirement at Southwell. A very numerous family demanded from him the utmost oeconomy. Hence he has been charged with excessive parsimony, though in the inscription on his monument, in the church of Southwell, he is called "Summe liberalis, atque misericors, hospitalissimus." "He was," faith Fuller, "an excellent and painful preacher, of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age; so that by a great and good stride, while he had one foot in the grave he had the other in heaven. It is hard to say, whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity." His sermons, preached between 1550 and 1576, are said to have been superior to those of his contemporaries, and are yet admired as patterns of eloquence and fine writing.

^d First at Francfort, afterward at Strasburgh and Zurich, in which two last places they resided in the house of Peter Martyr.

^e At St. John's college in Cambridge.

^f Afterward Sir Edwin Sandys, prebendary of York, and the author of "Europæ Speculum; or, a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne Parts of the World; wherein the Romane Religion, and the pregnant Policies of the Church of Rome to support the same, are notably displayed with some other memorable Discoveries and Memorations."

be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was then almost of the same age : For the bishop said, " I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example ; and my greatest care shall be of the last ; and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin." And the bishop did so about twelve months after this resolution.

And doubtless, as to these two, a better choice could not be made ; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age ; had spent five in the university ; and had, by a constant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages ; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted study, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to himself, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid

tions. Hagæ Comitis, 1629." This work is dedicated to Archbishop Whitgift. In the address to the reader, the editor styles the author " ingenuous, ingenious, and acute : a gentleman who, as I have been credibly informed, both heretofore deserved right well of his countrye in the service of the Prince of Orange, and the Lords of the States General, his Majesty of England's fast friends and allies." The reader will not be displeased with the following specimen of his mode of writing. He thus describes the various contrarieties of the state and church of Rome. " What pomp, what riot, to that of their cardinals ? What severity of life comparable to that of their heremits and capuchins ? Who wealthier than their prelates ? who poorer by vow and profession than their mendicants ? On the one side of the street, a cloister of virgins : on the other, a sty of courtezans, with public toleration. This day all in masks, with all loosens and foolery : to-morrow all in processions, whipping themselves till the blood follow. On one door an excommunication, throwing to hell all transgressors : on another a jubilee, or full discharge from all transgressions. Who learned in all kinds of sciences than their Jesuits ? What thing more ignorant than their ordinary mass-priests ? What prince so able to prefer his servants and followers as the Pope, and in so great multitude ? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his enemies ? What pride equal unto his, making kings kiss his pontaffe ? What humility greater than his, striving himself daily on his knees to an ordinary priest ?" Page 39.

Sir Edwin Sandys was the intimate friend of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. On a large silver flagon belonging to the communion-plate at Little Gidding, are these inscriptions : On the handle, " For the church of Little Giddinge in Huntington shyer." And on the bottom of the flagon, " What Sir Edwin Sandys bequeathed to the remembrance of friendship, his friend hath consecrated to the honour of God's service." He died in 1629, leaving behind him five sons, all of whom, except one, forgetting their allegiance to their King, joined the Parliament in the beginning of the rebellion ; his second son, Colonel Edwin Sandys, particularly disgracing his family by acts of the most savage inhumanity against the royalists.

from common searchers. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his industry added to both, *he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew he knew better than other men.* And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils (which in time were many), but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer: of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for his learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies, that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is observable, that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: And by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till death; still increasing in learning, in patience, and in piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age he was chosen, December 24, 1573, to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and admitted as born in Devonshire; out of which county a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes. And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had bishop Jewel,
Dr.

Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson[†], of that foundation. The first famous by his learned "Apology for the Church of England," and his

K k

"Defence

[†] Dr. Thomas Jackson, descended from a respectable family and born at Witton on the Wear, in the county of Durham, was designed by his parents to be a merchant in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. From this intention he was diverted by the Lord Eure, Baron of Malton, &c. through whose persuasion he was placed in Queen's College, Oxford, and from thence removed to Corpus Christi College. He was first promoted to the pleasant rectory of Winston, in his native county, and then to the vicarage of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. After a residence of some years in that town, he was invited to return to Oxford, and was appointed president of his college.

The precious manuscripts, which he left at his death, were consigned by Archbishop Sheldon to the care of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who tells us, that "the reader will find in this author "an eminent excellency in that part of divinity which I make bold to call Christology, in displaying *the great mystery of godliness, God manifested in human flesh.*" He adds, "He that will "carefully peruse this good author's works, shall thereby have a goodly prospect of the Old "and New Testament opened unto him; shall mightily improve in the understanding of the "holy Bible." And in his preface to Mr. Herbert's "Country Parson," he blesses God for the confirmation which Dr. Jackson hath given him in the Christian religion against the Atheist, Jew, and Socinian, and in the Protestant against Rome.

One part of Dr. Jackson's character is highly deserving of imitation. He willingly admitted, and was much delighted with the acquaintance and familiarity of hopeful young divines, not despising their youth, but accounting them as sons and brethren, encouraging and advising them what books to read, and with what holy preparations; lending them such books as they had need of. So placid and benign was his disposition, that no one ever went sad from his presence.

A circumstance, which occurred in his earlier life, affords an opportunity of congratulating the present age on a noble and humane institution. That circumstance is thus related by his biographer:

"Walking out with others of the company to wash himself, he was in imminent peril of "being drowned. *The depth closed him round about, the weeds were wrapt about his head. He "went down to the bottom of the mountains, the earth with her bars was about him for ever, yet God "brought his soul from corruption,* Jonah ii. 5, 6. that, like Moses from the flags, for the future "good of the church and government of the college where he lived, there might be preserved the meekest man alive; or, like Jonas, *there might be a prophet revived,* as afterwards

he

“Defence of it against Harding^b.” The second, for the learned and wise manage of a public dispute with John Hart^c, of the Roman persuasion, about

“he proved, to forewarn the people of ensuing destruction, if peradventure they might repent, and God might revoke the judgments pronounced against them, and spare this great and sinful nation. It was a long and almost incredible space of time wherein he lay under water, and before a boat could be procured, which was sent for rather to take out his body, before it floated, for a decent funeral, than out of hopes of recovery of life. The boatman discerning where he was by the bubbling of the water, the last signs of a man expiring, thrust down his hook at that very moment, which, by happy Providence, at the first essay, lighted under his arm, and brought him up into the boat. All the parts of his body were swollen into a vast proportion, and although by holding his head downward they let forth much water, yet no hopes of life appeared, therefore they brought him to the land, and lapped him up in the gowns of his fellow-students, the best shroud that love or necessity could provide. After some warmth and former means renewed, they perceived that life was yet within him, conveyed him to the College, and commended him to the skill of Dr. Channel, an eminent physician of the same house, where, with much care, time, and difficulty, he recovered, to the equal joy and wonder of the whole society. All men concluded him to be reserved for high and admirable purposes.”

^b Dr. Thomas Harding, educated at Winchester school, became Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1536. He was the first King's Hebrew professor in that university, having been appointed by Henry VIII. in, or about, 1542. He was, in the reign of King Edward VI. a constant attendant on the lectures of Peter Martyr, and displayed great zeal for the reformed religion. A little before the King's death he exhorted the people not to shrink from the true doctrine of the gospel in the day of trouble, but to consider persecution as sent from God to try their faith. But, alas! he found himself unequal to temptation. Under Queen Mary he abandoned his principles, and obtained considerable preferment, a prebend in the church of Winchester, and the treasureship of Salisbury. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he adhered to the religion to which he had recently conformed, and fled beyond sea to Louvain, where he distinguished himself by writing against Bishop Jewel's "Challenge." He had been chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey. A letter from her is yet extant in Fox's "Book of Martyrs," addressed to him in very strong language. She admonishes him to relinquish the errors of Popery, reproaches him for his apostacy, and urges many arguments to persuade him to repentance and reformation. Mr. Hooker (*Eccles. Polit. B. II. 6.*) applies to Bishop Jewel and this his antagonist, what Velleius Paterculus remarks of Jugurtha and Marius: "Sub eodem Africano militantes in iisdem castris didicere quæ postea in contrariis facerent." Mr. Harding and the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one university, it
fell

about the head and faith of the church, then printed by consent of both parties. And the third for his most excellent "Exposition of the Creed," and for his other treatises; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and charity to all^k.

In the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for inceptor of arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling¹, a man of noted learning, being then vice-chancellor, and the act following, he was completed master, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being that year vice-chancellor, and his dear friend, Henry Savil of Merton College, then one of the proctors. It was that Henry Savil, that was after Sir Henry Savil^m, warden of Merton

K k 2

College,

fell out in them which was spoken of two others, "they learned in the same that which in "contrary camps they did practise."

¹ A convert to Popery, styled by Camden the most learned of his brethren, known principally from his dispute with Dr. Reynolds, the particulars of which are related in "the Sum of a Conference between John Reynolds and John Hart, touching the Head and the Faith of the Church, &c. London, 1588." approved, as it is said, by John Hart to be a true conference, and translated into Latin by Henry Parry, C. C. C.—Being banished from England with other Roman priests in 1584, he was admitted of the Society of Jesus, and was much respected by his fraternity for his learning and sanctity of life. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

^k In the preceding editions the name of Cardinal Poole was inserted. He was originally of Magdalen College, Oxford, where in 1515 he was admitted B. A. In 1522 Bishop Fox appointed him Fellow of Corpus Christi College, during his residence in foreign parts, but whether he came to take possession of his fellowship is not certain. (*See Gutch's Wood's Colleges and Halls, p. 320, 398.*)

¹ Otherwise Westfayling, of foreign extraction, being the grandson of Harbert, a native of Westphalia in Germany; he was canon of Christ Church, and vice-chancellor of the university for one part of the year in 1576, and consecrated Bishop of Hereford in 1585-6: a man of great piety of life, and of such gravity, that he was scarce ever seen to laugh; leaving no great estate, but, as he declares in his will, such a one as would be attended with the blessing of God, as being conscious to himself that no part of it was acquired by any dishonest means.

^m 1576. John Underhill of New college, Pr.

And

1576. Henry Savil of Merton College, Pr.

[LE NEVE.]

Henry Savil, celebrated for his superior knowledge of Greek Literature, his proficiency in mathematical and philosophical studies; has been styled "That magazine of learning, whose memory

College, and provost of Eaton: he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savil that translated and enlightened the "History of Cornelius Tacitus," with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savil that had the happiness to be a contemporary, and a most familiar friend to our Richard Hooker, and let posterity know it.

And

memory shall be honourable amongst not only the learned, but the righteous for ever." He was born at Over-Bradley near Halifax in Yorkshire, Nov. 30, 1547, and was admitted into Merton College, Oxford, in 1561. Upon his return from his travels into France and other countries, he was appointed Preceptor to Queen Elizabeth in the Greek language. He was one of the learned men, to whom the province of translating the bible was consigned in the beginning of the reign of James I. His name is in the fifth class, among those to whom the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse were allotted. Nor was he less distinguished for his knowledge of English antiquities. He founded and liberally endowed two professorships at Oxford, one of Geometry, the other of Astronomy. At this time scholastic learning and polemic divinity were principally regarded and encouraged. In the preamble of the deed, by which a salary was annexed to those two professorships, it is expressly said that "Geometry was almost totally unknown and abandoned in England."

One of the most important translations in the 16th century was that of the four first books of "Tacitus," and "The Life of Agricola," by Sir Henry Savil. The valuable notes that accompanied these translations were rendered into Latin by Gruter, and published at Amsterdam. Ben Jonson has commended this work in an epigram, which begins with these lines—

"If, my religion safe, I durst embrace
 "That strange doctrine of Pythagoras,
 "I should beleeve the soule of Tacitus
 "In thee, most weighty Savile, liv'd to us."

"Learning," faith Fuller, (*Holy State*, p. 186.) "hath gained most by those books by which 'the printers have lost.'" As an instance of the truth of this remark he adds, "Our worthy English knight, who set forth 'the golden-mouthed Father' in a silver print, was a loser by it." To the excellency of this edition a learned foreigner hath given his testimony by applying to it the line in Horace.

"Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatemur."

And in this year of 1577, he was chosen fellow of the college: happy also in being the contemporary and friend of Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after and successively made presidents of his college: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his "*Speculum Europæ*" as his brother George^a for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned

^a George Sandys, the friend of Lucius Lord Viscount Falkland; the seventh and youngest son of Archbishop Sandys, not less illustrious for his exalted piety, than for his accomplishments as a gentleman and a scholar, was born at Bishopthorp, near York, in 1577. He travelled through several parts of Europe, and visited many countries and cities of the east. The "*History of his Travels*," a work written by himself, is at this day read with great satisfaction. He translated "*Ovid's Metamorphoses*" into English verse: but he delighted chiefly in exercising his genius on sacred subjects. He is acknowledged to be the first poet of his age.—In the parish-register of Boxley in Kent, where he died, is this entry. "*Georgius Sandys, poetarum Anglorum sui sæculi princeps sepultus fuit Martii 7. stilo Angliæ. An. Dom. 1643.*" Mr. Dryden declares him to be the best versifier of the times in which he lived, and in the opinion of Mr. Pope, English poetry owes much of its present beauty to his translations. Nor are his original compositions less elegant and correct. To justify the character given of him as a poet by Walton, I subjoin his "*Version of the VIII Psalm*:"

" Lord, how illustrious is thy name!
 " Whose power both heav'n and earth proclaim!
 " Thy glory thou hast set on high,
 " Above the marble-arched sky.
 " The wonders of thy power thou hast
 " In mouths of babes and sucklings plac'd:
 " That so thou mightst thy foes confound,
 " And who in malice most abound.
 " When I, pure heav'n, thy fabric see,
 " The moon and stars dispos'd by thee;
 " O what is man or his frail race,
 " That thou shouldst such a shadow grace?
 " Next to thy angels most renown'd;
 " With majesty and glory crown'd:

" The

learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels; and for his harmonious translation of the Psalms of David, the book of Job, and other poetical parts of holy writ, into most high and elegant verse.— And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden^o, the Lord Tottenes^p, Fines Morifon^q, and others.

“ This Cranmer, whose Christian name was George, was a gentleman of singular hope, the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cranmer, the Archbishop’s brother: he spent much of his youth in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, where he continued master of arts for many years before he removed, and then betook himself to travel, accompanying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return, he
betook

“ The king of all thy creatures made;
“ That all beneath his feet hath laid;
“ All that on dales or mountains feed,
“ That shady woods or deserts breed;
“ What in the airy region glide,
“ Or through the rowling ocean slide.
“ Lord, how illustrious is thy name!
“ Whose pow’r both heav’n and earth proclaim!”

King, bishop of Chichester, who himself translated the Psalms for the use of the common people, observes that Mr. George Sandys was too elegant for the vulgar use, changing both the metre and tunes wherewith they had been long acquainted.

“ Cecidit tamen ex Angliæ Cranmerus pro-rege ab epistolis, vir eruditissimus, et ipsi eo nomine longe charissimus.” (*Camden, Annal. Regin. Eliz. sub. An. 1600.*)

^p Sir George Carew, created by Charles I. Earl of Totnes, and celebrated for his military exploits in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the author of “*Pacata Hibernia*; or, the History of the Wars in Ireland, especially within the Province of Munster, in the Years 1599, 1600, 1601, and 1602.”

^q Mr. Morrifon, Secretary to Lord Mountjoy, and author of “*An Itinerary, containing his ten Years Travels through the twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, Denmark, Poland, England, Scotland, and Ireland; divided into three Parts.* London, 1617.” Fol. Published after his death, and originally written in Latin.

“ betook himself to an employment under Secretary Davison^r; after whose
 “ fall he went in place of Secretary with Sir Henry Killigrew^r in his em-
 “ bassage into France; and after his death he was sought after by the most
 “ noble Lord Mountjoy^r, with whom he went into Ireland, where he re-
 mained

^r William Davison, Esq. one of the Principal Secretaries of State to Queen Elizabeth, a plain and honest man, without policy, and totally unskilled in the dark intrigues of a court. His conduct with respect to the warrant granted for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots has been variously reported. (*See the State Trials, 1583, 30 Eliz.*) The fullest credit may probably be given to his own assertions in the Star-Chamber, when he protested before God and the commissioners that were appointed to try him, “ That wittingly or willingly he had
 “ done nothing in this thing but that which he was persuaded in his conscience the Queen
 “ willed. In the which if he had carried himself to do any part either by unskillfulness or ne-
 “ gligence, he could not choose but be grievously sorry, and undergo willingly the censure of
 “ the commissioners.” When he was sentenced, Sir Edmond Anderson, one of his judges, said of him, that herein he had done “ *justum non justè* ;” and so, acquitting of all malice, censured him for indiscretion. (*Fuller’s Worthies, Lincolnshire, p. 161.*)—“ In the reign of
 “ Queen Elizabeth we read of one, whom the grandees of the Court procured to be made Se-
 “ cretary of State, only to break his back in the business of the Queen of Scots, whose death
 “ they were then projecting. Like true courtiers, they first engage him in that fatal scene,
 “ and then desert him in it; using him only as a tool, to do a present state-job, and then to be
 “ reproached and ruined for what he had done.” (*Dr. South’s twelve Sermons, 1698, p. 137.*)

^r Sir H. Killigrew, the husband of Katherine, the fourth daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, no less renowned than her three sisters for her knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages: An epitaph on this learned lady was written by Andrew Melville. (*See also Buchanan’s Poemata, p. 351.*) Fuller has preserved some Latin verses composed by her on the following occasion: Her husband Sir Henry Killigrew, being designed by Queen Elizabeth Ambassador for France in troublesome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous, this affectionate wife wrote these verses to Mildred Cecil, her eldest sister, to use her interest with the Lord Treasurer her husband, that Sir Henry might be excused from that service:

“ Si mihi quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,
 “ Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola Soror.
 “ Sin malè cunctando retines, vel trans Mare mittes,
 “ Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla Soror.
 “ It si Cornubiam, tibi Pax sit et omnia læta!
 “ Sin Mare, Cecili nuntio Bella, vale.”

(*Biograph. Brit. in the article COOK ANTHONY, p. 1456.*[F])

^r An accomplished and brave soldier. Queen Elizabeth, confiding in her own princely judgment and opinion, had formed so favourable an opinion of his worth and conduct, that she

"mained, until in a battle against the rebels near Charlinford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life and the great hopes that were conceived of him."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth and in an university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not. In this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity, they went on for many years: And, as the holy prophet saith, so "they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as "friends." By which means they improved it to such a degree of amity as bordered upon heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it shall have no end.

And though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship; yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, and manners, and laws; and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns and leave Mr. Hooker to his college: where he was daily more assiduous in his studies, still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil; and with such other learning as lay most remote from the tract of common studies. And as he was diligent in these; so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's spirit revealed to mankind in the sacred Scripture; for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same spirit with which they were written; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, "The scripture was not writ to beget pride and disputations, and opposition to government; but moderation, and charity, and "humility, and obedience, and peace, and piety in mankind; of which no "good man did ever repent himself upon his death-bed." And that this was really his judgment did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of

she would have him and none other to finish and bring the Irish war to a propitious end, which, not deceiving her good conceit of him, he nobly achieved, though with much pains and carefulness. (*Lloyd's State Worthies*, p. 665.)

of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony in what follows^u.

Thus he continued his studies in all quietness for the space of three or more years; about which time he entered into sacred orders, and was made both deacon and priest; and not long after, in obedience to the College Statutes, he was to preach either at St. Peter's, Oxford^x, or at St. Paul's Cross^y, London, and the last fell to his allotment.

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^u In 1579 Mr. Hooker read the Hebrew lecture at Oxford, during the indisposition of Mr. Thomas Kingsmill, fellow of Magdalen College, who in 1565 was elected public orator, and in 1569 Hebrew professor. This circumstance, mentioned by Walton, in the earlier editions of Mr. Hooker's Life, was afterward omitted; as also the account of his expulsion from his college in 1579, with his immediate restoration. This expulsion probably did not happen, or the cause of it was so frivolous as not to deserve notice.

^x The Fellows of Corpus Christi College in Oxford are obliged by their own statutes to preach at Paul's Cross, or at St. Peter's in Oxford, in Lent, before they can be admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. There were no sermons preached before the university at the time of the foundation of C. C. C. but in Lent. The University Church is of a later date.

^y We learn from Stowe, that in the midst of the churchyard of St. Paul's was a pulpit cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone, and covered with lead, in which were sermons preached by learned divines every Sunday in the forenoon, when the court and the magistrates of the city, besides a vast concourse of people, usually attended. Dugdale mentions "its leaded cover." This circumstance explains Owen's epigram entitled "Paul's Crosse and the Crosse in Cheap opposite St. Peter's Church."

"Aurea cur Petro posita est Crux, plumbea Paulo?"

"Paulinam decorant aurea Verba Crucem."

In foul and rainy weather these solemn sermons were preached at a place called "The Shrouds," which was, it seems, by the side of the Cathedral Church, under a covering or shelter. In the Pepysian Collection at Magdalen College in Cambridge, is a drawing of the pulpit at Paul's Cross, as it appeared in 1621.—During the wars of York and Lancaster Paul's Cross was a mere state engine.

"Here is th' indictment of the good Lord Hastings,

"Which, in a set hand, fairly is ingross'd;

"That it may be to-day read o'er in Paul's.

SHAKESPEARE'S RICHARD III. *Act* III. *Sc.* VI.

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In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamites-House; which is a house so called; for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometimes a draper of good note in Watling-street, upon whom, after many years of plenty, poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a virtuous man: I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for hiring him no easier a horse, (supposing the horse trotted when he did not;) and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold,

It was at Paul's Cross that in the beginning of the reformation the Rood of Grace, whose eyes and lips were moved with wires, was exposed to the view of the people and destroyed by them. It was a place of general resort, where the citizens met, like the Athenians of old, for the sake of hearing and telling of news. "A man was asked whether he was at the sermon at Paul's Cross? and he answered that he was there; and being asked what news there? Marry, quoth he, wonderful news." And it was sometimes a subject of complaint, that the people walked up and down in the sermon-time, and that there was such buzzing and huzzing in the preacher's ear, that it made him oft to forget his matter.

It seems to have been within the province of the Bishop of London, to summon from the universities, or from other places, deacons of the best abilities to preach there. Sandys, when the Bishop of London, in an address to the Lord Treasurer Burghley and the Earl of Leicester, concerning seditious preachers, tells them that "he does what he can to procure fit men to preach at the Cross, but that he cannot know their hearts." (*Strype's Whitgift, Appendix, p. 9.*) For the due providing these sermons, and for the encouragement of the preachers, Bishop Aylmer was a great benefactor.

When Bishop Jewel was a pupil at Oxford, Mr. Parkhurst, his tutor, gave him "Tindal's Translation of the Bible" to read, himself overlooking Coverdale's. Observing Jewel's acute remarks on these two versions, he exclaimed, "Surely Paul's Cross will one day ring of this boy." Prophesying, as it were, says my author, of that noble sermon of his at Paul's Cross, in 1560, on 1 Cor. xi. 23. (*Prince's Worthies of Devon.*)

cold, given him by Mistress Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon, which was, that "in God there were two wills; an antecedent, and "a consequent will: his first will, that all mankind should be saved; but "his second will was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerable "to that degree of grace which he had offered or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's², and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and had been since by Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond³, and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in an occasional answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Bishop of London^b,

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² Of this distinguished divine, the founder of the Church of Geneva, see Mr. Hooker's Preface to his "Ecclesiastical Polity," Sect. II.

³ The name of Dr. Hammond requires no eulogy. His excellent writings fully demonstrate his piety and learning. It is remarked of him, that, after all his great acquisitions, the scholar was less eminent than the Christian: That his speculative knowledge, which gave light to the most dark and difficult points, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his practice.

^b The conduct of Aylmer, Bishop of London, in the scenes of public life, has been accurately described by the industrious pen of Mr. Strype. It will be sufficient to notice one trait of his character, which displayed itself in his care of Lady Jane Grey, to whom he was tutor. Such was the suavity of his disposition, so gently, so pleasantly, and with such fair allurements to learning, did he instruct her, that she thought all the time nothing, whilst she was with him. "And when I am called from him", said this accomplished young woman, "I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and wholly misliking to me. And thus my book has been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles to me." (*Ascham's Schoolmaster.*)—On this occasion Roger Ascham thus exclaims in a Latin letter to this lady. "O Elmarum meum felicissimum, cui talis contigit discipula, et te multo feliciorum, quæ cum Præceptorem nacta es: Utrique certe "et tibi quæ discis et illi qui docet et gratulor et gaudeo."

"That

at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold, for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: So that the good man came to be persuaded by her, that "he was a man of a tender constitution;" and, "that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such a one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one, she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not considering, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light;" but, like a true Nathaniel, who feared no guile, because he meant none, did give her such power as Eleazer was trusted with, when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house: So that he had no reason to "rejoice in the wife of his youth," but rather to say with the holy prophet, "Wo is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us consider that the Prophet *Ezekiel* says, "There is a wheel within a wheel;" a secret sacred wheel of Providence (especially in mariages).

"That which I taught," says Mr. Hooker (*Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication, Sect. VIII.*) "was at Paul's Cross; it was not huddled in amongst other matters in such sort that it could pass without noting: It was opened, it was proved, it was some reasonable time stood upon. I see not which way my Lord of London, who was present and heard it, can excuse so great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controulment afterward to hear any man there teach otherwise than the word of God doth."

* Anthony Wood pronounces the wife of Mr. Hooker to have been a silly clownish woman, and withal a mere Xantippe.

riages) guided by his hand, that "allows not the race to the swift," nor "bread to the wise," nor good wives to good men: And he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to such reasons) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, and (as some think) to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and let the reader cease to wonder, for *affliction is a divine diet*; which though it be unpleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often imposed it as good, though bitter physic to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage; which was Draiton Beuchamp^d in Buckinghamshire, (not far from Ailbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln;) to which he was presented by John Cheney, Esq. (then patron of it) the 9th of December, 1584, where he behaved himself so, as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) "In much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities, in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering;" yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants^e.

And in this mean condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, were returned from travel, and took a journey to Draiton to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the "Odes of Horace"), he being then tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do, for that his servant was then gone home to:

^d Drayton Beacham, R. St. Mary, in the Deanery of Muralley in the Archdeaconry of Bucks. Bishop Gauden is mistaken when he relates that Mr. Hooker was preferred to this living by his college. Lord Cheyne presented his clerk to this rectory in 1708. (*Bacon's Liber Regis*. p. 495.)

^e By this inconsiderate marriage his fellowship was immediately vacated. Dr. Gauden's ignorance of this unfortunate event has occasioned him to assign several reasons why Mr. Hooker forsook an academic life, and chose to consign the rich treasury of his learning to the retiredness and obscurity of a country parsonage.

to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and having in that time remembered and paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other such-like diversions, given him as much present pleasure as their acceptable company and discourse could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife, and seek themselves a quieter lodging^f. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, "Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, as to your parsonage; and more sorry your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your restless studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I, that am none, ought not to repine at what my wife's Creator hath appointed for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace^g."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York), with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which

^f How strongly is this unpleasing domestic scene contrasted by the gentle manners, the exalted piety, the extensive charity, the saint-like humility of that excellent woman, the wife of Mr. George Herbert?

^g On the stone which covers the body of Thomas à Kempis is his effigy, and that of another person extending to him a label whereon is written a question to this purpose:—

"Oh! where is PEACE, for thou its paths hast trod?"

To which Kempis is represented as answering—

"In poverty, retirement, and with God."

(*The Amaranth*, 1767, p. 23.)

which was in the year 1585^b, Mr. Alvy, Master of the Temple, died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain such a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvy. At the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvy, the Archbishop of York being then at dinner with the judges, the reader, and benchers of that society, he there met with a condolment for the death of Father Alvy, a high commendation of his saint-like life and of his great merit both to God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Archbishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvy's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Draiton Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his parsonage did afford him: But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country-living, where he might be *free from noise*, (so he expressed the desire of his heart), and eat that bread, which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietnessⁱ. But notwithstanding this averfeness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the Bishop's proposal; and was by patent for:

^b Richard Alvy was also the first canon of the fifth stall in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster. The Mastership of the Temple was vacated by his death in August 1584.

ⁱ Mr. Mason has happily applied this passage in an elegy to the Rev. Mr. Hurd, the present Bishop of Worcester:

" Whose equal mind could see vain Fortune shower
 " Her flimsy favours on the fawning crew,
 " While in low Thurstaston's sequester'd bower
 " She fixt him distant from promotion's view.
 " Yet shelter'd there by calm Contentment's wing,
 " Pleas'd he could smile, and with sage Hooker's eye
 " See from his mother-earth God's blessings spring,
 " And eat his bread in peace and privacy."

for life^k made Master of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age^l.

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place: a place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness; that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises; for this he always thirsted; and yet this was denied him. For his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to, and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution that had raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and these begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them or their present posterity. The apprehension of which dangers begot an earnest desire of a settlement in the church and state; believing there was no other way to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends; and those begot animosities, envy, oppo-

^k This you may find in the "Temple Records." William Ermstead was master of the Temple at the dissolution of the Priory, and died 2 Eliz. Richard Alvy, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. Magister five custos domus et ecclesie novi Templi; died 27 Eliz.—Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent, in terminis, as Alvy had it, and he left it 33 Eliz.—That year Dr. Belgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

^l On this occasion two other candidates were proposed—Mr. Walter Travers and Dr. Nicholas Bond the queen's chaplain. The former, commended by Alvy himself on his death-bed to be master after him, was supported by the interest of the Lord Treasurer Burghley; the latter, named to the queen by Archbishop Whitgift, was afterward admitted president of Magdalen college, Oxford, and much abused by Martin Mar-Prelate. (*Strype.*)

opposition, and unthankfulness for those blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning and progress of her reign ; and thus it continued too long : for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the church of Rome became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied ; but were still thirsting for more and more : neglecting to pay that obedience to government and perform those vows to God, which they made in their days of adversities and fears ; so that in a short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs ; they may for distinction be called the “ active Romanists,” the “ restless Nonconformists,” (of which there were many sorts) and the “ passive, peaceable Protestant^m.” The councils of the first considered and resolved on in Rome ; the second in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles both there and within the bosom of our own nation ; the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil ; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the church and state ; because what is principally intended in this digression is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformists ; against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war ; a war which he maintained, not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Nonconformists, though some might be sincere and well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of errors, yet of this party there were many that were possessed of an high degree of spiritual wickedness ; I mean with an innate, restless, radical pride and malice ; I mean not those lesser sins which are more visible and more properly carnal, and sins against a man's self, as

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gluttony

^m This word is here used in a more limited sense to denote a member of the Church of England.

gluttony, and drunkenness, and the like (from which, good Lord, deliver us); but sins of a higher nature, because more unlike to the nature of God, which is love, and mercy, and peace, and more like the devil (who is no glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil); those wickednesses of malice and revenge, and opposition, and a complacency in working and beholding confusion (which are more properly his work, who is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and greater sins, though many will not believe it); men whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing reason, or adhering to the ways of peace; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to over-value their own wisdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men which they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed *to speak evil of government*ⁿ, and then to be the authors of confusion (of confusion as it is confusion); whom company, and conversation, and custom had blinded, and made insensible that these were errors; and at last became so restless and so hardened in their opinions, that like those who perished in the gainsaying of Korah, so these died without repenting these spiritual wickednesses; of which Coppinger and Hacket^o, and their adherents, are too sad testimonies.

And

ⁿ If we give credit to the historians of these times, the picture here exhibited is far from being drawn in too strong colours. Alas! the love of domination, and an uninterrupted opposition to the measures of government, have too faithfully characterised the manners of those Nonconformists. From the combination of such unamiable qualities, what other consequences could be expected than those which actually burst forth with irresistible fury? What opinion James I. entertained of them, appears from the following extract from the "Basilicon Doron:"—"Take heed therefore, my son, of such puritans, very pests in the church and commonwealth, whom no deserts can oblige, nor promises bind; breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies; aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations, without any warrant of the Word, the square of their consciences. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highland or Borderer thieves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits."

^o William Hacket, illiterate and of the meanest extraction, from habits of the lowest profligacy, and the most abandoned wickedness, assumed the appearance of a saint, pretending to have an inward call, and to be favoured with a special revelation. With him were associated Edmund

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many others that pretended to tenderness of conscience, refusing to submit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magistrate : and yet these very men did in their secret conventicles covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up a church government that they had not agreed on. To which end there were many select parties that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the church and state ; but especially against the bishops : by which means, together with very bold, and as indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatic, as St. Peter observes there were in his time, " some that wrested " the Scripture to their own destruction : " So by these men, and this means, many came to believe the bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructors of God's discipline ; and many of them were at last given over to such desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the " Revelation of St John," that " Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword," which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that those very men that began with tender meek petitions proceeded to print public admonitions ; and then to satirical remonstrances ; and at last (having like David numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause) they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the bishops, and not long after both the Queen and Parliament ; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her Majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of con-

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science,

mund Coppinger, a person of better family, and some others, who declared themselves chosen vessels, proclaimed war against the bishops, and scrupled not to menace the safety of the Queen herself, unless she promoted their schemes of reform. The madness of fanaticism has no bounds. Hacket was at length announced by his followers (ministers of the Geneva discipline) to be " the supreme monarch of the world, from whom all the princes of Europe held " their sceptres, to be a greater prophet than Moses or John Baptist, even Jesus Christ, who " was come with his fan in his hand to judge the world." He was apprehended and convicted, and, after uttering the most horrid blasphemies, was hanged by the common executioner. Coppinger starved himself in prison. The contagion quickly spread on all sides, whilst ecclesiastical authority was rudely opposed, and trampled under foot. (*See Kennet's History of England Vol. II. p. 563, and Carte's Hist. Vol. III. p. 637.*)

science, whom he used as a sacrilegious snare to further his design; which was by their means to bring such an odium upon the bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaricious desire had so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes had almost flattered him into present possession of Lambeth-House:

And to these strange and dangerous undertakings the Nonconformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one^p told the Queen openly in a sermon, "She was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline^q." And in Scotland they were more confident, for there they declared her an Atheist^r, and grew to such a height as not to be account-

^p Mr. Edward Dering, a puritan, the author of a book written in defence of Bishop Jewel's "Apology," against Harding. He dates this work, April 2, 1568, from Christ's College, Cambridge; and dedicates it to Thomas Wotton, his countryman, "a person then of great learning and religion, as well as wealth, in Kent." (*Strype's Annals*.)—He is commended as a truly religious man, whose happy death was suitable to the purity and integrity of his life. (*Granger's Biogr. Hist. Vol. I. p. 215*.)—"Once preaching before Queen Elizabeth, he told her, that when in persecution under her sister Queen Mary, her motto was 'tanquam ovis,' as a sheep; but now it might be 'tanquam indomita juvenca,' as an untamed heifer. But surely the Queen still retained much of her ancient motto 'as a sheep,' in that she patiently endured so public (and conceived causeless) reproof, in inflicting no punishment upon him, save commanding him to forbear further preaching at the Court." (*Fuller's Church History*.)

^q "The bishops have long deceived and seduced her Majesty and her people." (*Martin's Epistle X. 53*.) The Queen was compared to Jeroboam, Ahab, Jehoram, Ahaz, Gideon, Nadab, Saul, Jehu, Aza, and Jehosaphat, in those points whereby they offended God, and she was threatened by their examples, in that having begun so well, she did not proceed to set up Christ's kingdom thoroughly.

^r The case is famous of Mr. David Blake, minister of St. Andrews, who had said in his sermon, "that the King had discovered the treachery of his heart in admitting the Popish Lords into the country: that all kings were the devil's bairns; that the devil was in the court and in the guiders of it." And in his prayer for the Queen he used these words: "We must pray for her for fashion's sake, but we have no cause, she will never do us any good." He said that "the Queen of England (Queen Elizabeth) was an Atheist; that the Lords of
" the

accountable for any thing spoken against her ; no, nor for treason against their own king, if spoken in the pulpit ; shewing at last such a disobedience even to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress and in prison, and in danger of death, the church denied the king their prayers for her ; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, their church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state ; and these vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the church and state were both forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent confusion and the perilous consequences of it ; which, without such prevention, would in a short time have brought unavoidable ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These

“ the Session were miscreants and bribers ; that the nobility were degenerated, godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church ; that the council were holliglasses, cormorants, and men of no religion.” (*A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c.* 1649, p. 13, 14. See also *Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 420.)

* See “ *Bishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland.*” p. 422, &c.

“ In the year 1582 Monsieur le Mot, a Knight of the order of the Holy Ghost, with an associate, were sent ambassadors from France into Scotland. The ministers of Edinburgh approving not his message, though merely civil, inveigh in their pulpits bitterly against him, calling his “ white cross the badge of Antichrist,” and himself “ the ambassador of a murderer.” The King was ashamed, but did not know how to help it. The ambassadors were discontented, and desired to be gone. The King, willing to preserve the ancient amity between the two crowns, and to dismiss the ambassadors with content, requires the magistrates of Edinburgh to feast them at their departure : so they did ; but to hinder this feast, upon the Sunday preceeding, the ministers proclaim a fast to be kept the same day the feast was appointed ; and to detain the people all day at church, the three preachers make three sermons, one after another without intermission, thundering out curses against the magistrates and noblemen which waited upon the ambassadors by the King's appointment. Neither stayed they here, but pursued the magistrates with the censures of the church for not observing the fast by them proclaimed.” (*A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c.* p. 25. See also *Spotswood's History*, p. 324.)

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, "That the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and determine what laws were fit to be made concerning church-government; then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished. That they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the most learned colleges in Italy. That men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people were made for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion; and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, "that those very men that were most busy in oppositions, and disputations and controversies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions; and had so often and so highly opposed the blessed motions of the blessed spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they had thereby finned themselves to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe: into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe there are many gods); but these have finned themselves into a belief, that there is no god; and so finding nothing in themselves, but what is worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, "that they should be like the beasts that perish;" and in wicked company (which is the Atheist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so: though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then finned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all these other irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn in pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin; when the common people seemed ambitious

ambitious of doing those very things which were attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority. In this extremity, fear, and danger of the church and state, when to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of a high and fearless fortitude, they were blessed in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom ingenious Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well) hath left this true character^u; "That he was a man of a reverend and sacred memory, and of the primitive temper; a man of such a temper, as when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue."

And though I dare not undertake to add to his character, yet I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple^x.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family^y that was ancient and noted to be prudent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was

^u See 'Reliquiæ Wottonianæ,' page 172.

^x Isaac Walton's epitome of the life of Dr. Whitgift, is truly excellent.

———"a hand or eye

"By Hilyard drawne, is worth a history

"By a worse painter made."

DR. DONNE.

^y Whitgift was descended from an ancient family in Yorkshire, resident at Whitgift, a town in the West-riding of that county. He was educated under a paternal uncle, Robert Whitgift, abbot of a monastery in Lincolnshire, from whom he often heard the following prophetic declaration: "That they and their religion could not long continue; because," said he, "I have read the whole Scripture over and over, and could never find therein that our religion was founded by God." And to support his opinion the abbot would allege that saying of our Saviour, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out." *Matt. xv. 13.*

was educated in Cambridge^z; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-Hall, where Mr. Bradford^a the martyr was his tutor: from thence he was removed to Peter-House^b; from thence to be Master of Pembroke-Hall; and from thence to the Mastership of Trinity College. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain, and not long after Prebendary of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the Bishopric of Worcester, and (which was not an usual favour) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him Vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having for several years experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs in both these places, she, in the twenty-sixth of her reign, made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after, of her Privy Council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and, in all his employments, was like Jehoiada that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words, in his "Annals,") "he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and
" his

^z He was first admitted of Queen's College. He afterward removed to Pembroke-Hall, the Master of that College at that time being Bishop Ridley.

^a As holy a man as any who lived in his time and learned also." Of him see "Fox's Book of Martyrs," and "Fuller's Abel redivivus," p. 179.

^b Dr. Whitgift was the great restorer of order and discipline in the university. In 1562 he was appointed Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, the salary of the professorship being, on account of his extraordinary merit, augmented from twenty marks to twenty pounds. He did not continue Master of Pembroke-Hall above three months, being appointed Master of Trinity College, July 4, 1567, on the death of Dr. Beaumont. To this good prelate has been applied what was said of the Roman Fabius:

"Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem:

"Ergo postq; magisque viri nunc gloria claret."

Fuller tells us, that Whitgift's finger moved more in church matters, than the hands of all the privy counsellors besides. (*Ch. Hist. B. X. p. 218.*)

“his painful labours to the good of his church.” And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness^c of Bishop Grindal (his immediate predecessor), the activity of the Non-conformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and tho’ he wanted neither courage nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that without a great measure of the Queen’s favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that was made into the lands and immunities of the church, or to maintain the remaining rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa (“Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest”), he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him were such, that she called him *her little black husband*^d, and called *his servants her servants*; and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endea-

N n

vours

^c Rather, according to Strype, “By reason of his suspension or sequestration which he lay “under (together with the Queen’s displeasure) for some years when the ecclesiastical affairs “were managed by certain Civilians.” During the latter part of his life Archbishop Grindal was confined to his house, and sequestered for a non-compliance with the directions of the Queen, when she ordered him to forbid the exercises and prophecies which were then much practised by the Puritans. He became totally blind in 1582. The resignation of his archbishopric being frequently urged by her Majesty was delayed from time to time, until broken down with infirmity he died July 6, 1583, aged 63 years.—Though he has been blamed for holding the reins too loose in respect to the Puritans, and for his slackness in the government of the affairs of the church, yet this has been considered as too severe a charge. Hollingshead says of him, “That he was so studious, that his book was his bride, and his study his “bride-chamber, wherein he spent both his eye-sight, his strength, and his health.”—In fact, he was a person of mild manners, and of singular moderation, and very unwilling to have recourse to extremities. Hence the Puritans claimed him as their own, though in reality no one was ever more sincerely attached to the Church of England.

^d Whitgift’s name gave occasion to the Queen to make a descant upon him, expressive of her regard, calling him “her White Gift.” Mr. Hugh Broughton styled him “Archbishop “Lucodore;” and with the same allusion the following lines were written:—

“Quod paci, Whitgifte, faves studiisq; bonorum,

“Det tibi pacis amans candida dona Deus.”

And

vours for the church's and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor, of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was, "That she would never eat flesh^e in Lent, without obtaining a license from her little black husband." And would often say, "she pitied him because she trusted him, and had eased herself by laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which, she was certain, he managed with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and her care of the church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made archbishop, there passed an act^f or acts of Parliament, intending the better preservation of church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the crown; and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester^g was one; and the good bishop having by his interest with her Majesty put a stop to the Earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the bishop made a sudden and seasonable return to her Majesty (for he found her alone), and spake to her with great humility and reverence, and to this purpose^h:—

"I beseech

And a scholar at Oxford composed this epitaph upon him:—

"Candida dona tibi, Whitegyfte, sunt nomen et omen.

"Nomen habes niveis nunc inscriptum ergo lapillis,

"Et stola pro meritis redditur alba tuis."

^e Licenses were granted at that time by the Archbishops of Canterbury for a man to eat flesh and white meats, even during his whole life; but with this proviso, "he do it soberly and frugally, cautiously, and avoiding public scandal as much as might be."

^f 1 Eliz. cap. 19.

^g This nobleman professed a great desire of unity in the church, and yet was an earnest patron of Cartwright and others of the Puritan strain. He preferred Cartwright to the mastership of his hospital, founded by him at Warwick. (*Strype.*)

^h This animated speech was delivered before the Queen in 1578, when Whitgift was Bishop of Worcester.

" I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that
 " your's and the church's safety are dearer to me than my life, but my con-
 " science dearer than both; and therefore give me leave to do my duty,
 " and tell you, that princes are deputed nursing fathers of the church, and
 " owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you should be so
 " much as passive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I should
 " behold it without horror and detestation; or should forbear to tell your
 " Majesty of the sin and danger. And though you and myself are born in
 " an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's
 " lands and immunities are much decayed; yet, Madam, let me beg that
 " you will but first consider, and then you will believe there are such sins
 " as profaneness and sacrilege: for if there were not, they could not have
 " names in holy writ; and particularly in the New Testament. And I
 " beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, ' He judged no
 " ' man;' and to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance be-
 " twixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery,
 " yet in this point of the church's rights, he was so zealous, that he made
 " himself both the accuser and the judge, and the executioner to punish
 " these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the pro-
 " faners out of the temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers,
 " and drove them out of it. And consider, that it was St. Paul that said
 " to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, yet,
 " ' Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?' supposing, I
 " think, sacrilege to be the greater sin. This may occasion your Majesty
 " to consider, that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to
 " prevent the curse that will follow it: I beseech you also to consider, that
 " Constantine¹ the first Christian Emperor, and Helena^k his mother; that
 " King Edgar^l, and Edward the Confessor^m, and indeed many others of
 N n 2 " your

¹ See "Ant. Univerf. History," Vol. XV. p. 564, 569. "Hooker's Works," Vol. III. p. 248, Oxford edit. 1793.

^k "Ant. Univerf. Hist." Vol. II. p. 406.

^l See "Collier's Ecclesiastical History," Vol. I. p. 185.

^m Ibid. Vol. I. p. 227, 229.

“ your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God
 “ and to his church much land, and many immunities, which they might
 “ have given to those of their own families, and did not, but gave them as
 “ an absolute right and sacrifice to God: And with these immunities and
 “ lands they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them; God pre-
 “ vent your Majesty from being liable to that curse.

“ And to make you that are trusted with their preservation the better to
 “ understand the danger of it, I beseech you, forget not that, besides these
 “ curses, the church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be
 “ preserved, as far as human reason, and the law of this nation, have been
 “ able to preserve them, by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the
 “ consciences of the princes of this realm. For they that consult Magna
 “ Charta shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation,
 “ so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present,
 “ and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you,
 “ *to maintain the church lands, and the rights belonging to it*^a; and this testi-
 “ fied openly at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then
 “ lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern statutes
 “ have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta. And now
 “ what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great
 “ day, either by your Majesty or by me, if it be wilfully or but negligently
 “ violated, I know not.

“ And therefore, good Madam, let not the late lord's exceptions against
 “ the failings of some few clergymen prevail with you to punish posterity
 “ for the errors of this present age; let particular men suffer for their par-
 “ ticular errors, but let God and his church have their right: And though I
 “ pretend not to prophecy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is
 “ already become visible in many families; That church-land, added to an
 “ ancient inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and
 “ secretly consumed both: or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar,
 “ and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles,
 “ and

^a The first Article of Magna Charta is “ Que les Eglises de Engleterre seront franchises et.
 “ aient les dreitures franchises, et enterinés, et plenières.”

“and herself that stole it°. And, though I shall forbear to speak reproach-
“fully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the
“church’s rights, added to the vast treasure left him by his father, hath
“been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, not-
“withstanding all his diligence to preserve it.

“And consider, that after the violation of those laws, to which he had
“sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining grace,
“that he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam,
“religion is the foundation and cement of human societies; and when
“they that serve at God’s altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion
“itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may
“already

° This beautiful apologue is taken with some alterations from “Æsop’s Fable of the Fox and the Eagle.”—Apposite to this passage are the remarks in a very scarce and curious tract, written by Mr. Ephraim Udall, and entitled “Noli me tangere,” London, 1642. “And it is
“a thing to be thought on, that many antient families (as some intelligent men have observed)
“who inherited the lands of their ancestors, *longâ feri deductâ a majoribus*; when they took in
“some of the spoiles made in tithes and glebe by the statute of dissolution, their possessions
“quickly spued out the old possessors of them as a loathsome thing, the bread of God
“proving as the bread of deceit, gravell in their teeth; and the portion of God’s mini-
“sters becoming like antimony or some such poyson, that dranke into the stomacke pro-
“vokes such a nauseous abhorrence in it, that it never rests till it hath emptied itself both of
“the poyson that troubles it, and of whatsoever else before lay quietly and inoffensively
“therein. I could therefore wish that all our gentry would preserve their inheritances with-
“out ruin to their posterity, would beware they bring not any spoiles of the church into
“their houses, lest they be spoyled by them: for they are like the eagle’s feathers by which
“the Egyptians in their hieroglyphicks signifie *pernitiosa potentia*; for they are said to con-
“sume all feathers among which they are mingled, as Pierius relateth of them. And to pre-
“serve them from this sin, *that they would have a tablet hang up alwaies in the dining-roome*
“*where they ordinarily take their repast, in which should be drawne an altar with flesh and fire on*
“*it for sacrifice, with an eagle ready to take wing, having in her talons a piece of flesh with a burn-*
“*ing coale at it, and something beside it, and higher than the altar a tall tree with an eagle’s nest in it,*
“*and the heads of her young ones discovered above the nest, and the nest flaming with a light fire about*
“*them, with this inscription over the altar, NOLI ME TANGERE NE TE ET TUOS PERDAM. For*
“*things belonging to the altar will certainly prove a snare to devourers of them.*”—(Page 32).
This subject is fully discussed in Dr. South’s twelve sermons, printed in 1692, p. 339, 345; and by Sir Henry Spelman, in “The History and Fate of Sacrilege, discovered by Examples of Scripture, of Heathens, and of Christians, from the Beginning of the World, continually to this Day.”

“ already observe in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And there-
 “ fore, as you are by a late act or acts entrusted with a great power to
 “ preserve or waste the church’s lands; yet dispose of them for Jesus’ sake
 “ as the donors intended: Let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to
 “ do otherwise, and put a stop, I beseech you, to the approaching ruins of
 “ God’s church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for kings
 “ must be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear So-
 “ vereign, and let me beg to be still continued in your favour, and the
 “ Lord still continue you in his.”

The Queen’s patient hearing this affectionate speech, her future care to preserve the church’s rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made her’s and the church’s good, the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this, there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many, and those powerful too; nor his prudence equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour toward all men that opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining church lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: He eased her of all her church-cares by his wise manage of them^p; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age; to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed; to be present at the expiration of her last

^p Mr. Hooker gave this character of Whitgift. “ He always governed with that moderation, which useth by patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer; “ which I think well suited with his poetry or motto, *VINCIT QUI PATITUR.*” (*Sir G. Paul’s Life of Whitgift*, p. 25.)

last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was her chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader, that he allow me to say a little, and but a little more of this good bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the bishop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large alms-house near to his own palace at Croyden in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions, and was so truly humbled, that he called them brothers and sisters: And whenever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth^a (which was very often), he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croyden^r, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time you may believe there was joy at the table.

And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars; which gave just occasion for Boyse Sifi, then ambassador for the French King, and resident here, at the bishop's death, to say, "The bishop had published many learned books, but "a free-school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged "and poor people, were the best evidences of Christian learning that a bishop could leave to posterity." This good bishop lived to see King James.

^a Archbishop Grindal fell so soon under the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, the very year after his translation from York to Canterbury, that it is probable she never honoured him with any visit at Croyden. (*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 65.*)

Sir George Paul informs us, that Archbishop Whitgift entertained the Queen every year at one of his houses, so long as he was archbishop, and some years twice or thrice; where all things were performed in so seemly an order, that she went thence always exceedingly well pleased: And besides many public and gracious favours done unto him, she would salute him and bid him farewell by the name of *black husband*, calling also his men *her servants*, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and pains. (*Life of Whitgift, p. 103.*)

^r The Archbishop's most noble foundation of his hospital, free-school, and chapel at Croyden, was finished in 1594.

^s "Profecto hospitale ad sublevandam paupertatem et schola ad instruendam juventutem sunt optimi libri, quos archiepiscopus conscribere potuit." (*Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 111.*)

James settled in peace, and then fell sick at Lambeth^c; of which the King having notice, went to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse, the King assured him, "He had a great affection for him, and high value for his prudence and virtues, which were so useful for the church, that he would earnestly beg his life of God." To which he replied, "Pro ecclesia Dei; pro ecclesia Dei:" which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time
you

^c He was at court the first Sunday in Lent, when, being seized with a paralytic stroke that deprived him of his speech, he was first carried to the Lord Treasurer's chamber, and then conveyed to Lambeth. "On Tuesday," says Strype, "he had the honour of a visit from the King, who, out of a sense of the great need he should have of him at this particular juncture (now he had laid such a scheme for reformation), told him he would pray to God for his life, and if he could obtain it, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him in his kingdom."

^u "Thus died this great prelate, full of years, and full of honour, actuated to the last moment of his life with that zeal which animated the illustrious Father Paul, when upon his death-bed, to breathe out his last prayer for the safety of his country, in these memorable words, "Esto perpetua." Yet it has been affirmed, that this distinguished ornament of the Reformation exerted himself against the Puritans with so *unfeeling* a hand, and so far beyond his legal power, that upon the Queen's demise he began to be *terribly frightened* at the approach of King James's first Parliament, and it is *probable enough* his apprehensions hastened his death." (*Preface to the first Edition of the Confessionals.*)—Let it be remembered that he was 73 years of age at the time of his demise, so that it may not be thought quite so probable that he died of a fright. His last words, as related by Strype, certainly countenance a different opinion, "Et nunc, Domine, exaltata est anima mea, quod in eo tempore succubui, quando mallem episcopatus mei reddere rationem quam inter homines exercere." My soul is lifted up, that I die in a time wherein I had rather give up to God an account of my bishopric than any longer to exercise it among men." To him we may surely apply what was said of Augustine: "O virum ad totius ecclesie publicam utilitatem natum, factum, datumq; divinitus." Whitgift strove," says Wilson, in his 'History of the Life and Reign of James I.' "to prevail over the Puritans with *sweetness and gentleness*; and died in David's fulness of days, leaving a name, like a sweet perfume, behind him."—"He was a man born for the benefit of his country and good of his church, wherein he ruled with such moderation, as he continued in his prince's favour all his life, suppressing such new sects as in his time began to rise, as by his learned work written by him against such schisms does appear." (*Stow.*)

you may believe, he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, "Vincit, qui patitur;" i. e. "He conquers that endures." And he made it good. Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of Nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; some time contemporary with the bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college^w, of which Dr. Whitgift, before he was bishop, was Master: in which place there began some emulations (the particulars I forbear), and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the university can incline you to it.

And in this discontent, long before the earl's death (which was 1588) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of the party that were for the Geneva church-government; and to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances; (especially that called the "Admonition to the

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^w Cartwright was excluded from his fellowship of Trinity College for breaking a statute of that college, in not taking holy orders upon him in due time. (*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 47.)—He was Lady Margaret's Professor in Divinity in 1569. This dignity he enjoyed a short time, being suspended for maintaining dangerous tenets concerning the government and discipline of the Church. He was highly esteemed among the Presbyterians, having received an invitation to be Divinity Professor, along with Mr. Travers, in the University of St. Andrew's in Scotland. A signal proof of his opposition to the customs and usages established in the church is given by Sir George Paul, in his "Life of Whitgift," p. 11.—"Upon a Sunday Dr. Whitgift, the Master of Trinity College, being from home, Mr. Cartwright, with some of his adherents, made three sermons in that one day, wherein they so vehemently inveighed, amongst other ceremonies of our church, against the surplice, as those of Trinity College were so moved herewith, that at evening prayer they cast off their surplices, though against the statutes of the house, and were all placed in the chapel without surplice, three only excepted. By reason of which stir, both that private college was greatly distracted, and the whole university much perplexed and troubled."—Of the controversy between Archbishop Whitgift and Mr. Cartwright, the latter of whom objected to the liturgy and to the form and manner of cathedral service, and particularly "to the tossing the Psalms from one side to the other, like tennis balls;" for thus he denominates the practice of choral and antiphonal singing. (See *Sir John Hawkins's History of Music*, Vol. III. p. 491, 492.)

When the Nonconformists were undetermined which of them should undertake to answer "Whitgift's Reply," Mr. Cartwright was chosen for that employment by lot.

"Parliament) which last he caused to be printed; to which the doctor made an answer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the doctor having rejoined to his reply (however Mr. Cartwright would not be satisfied), he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason.

After some years the doctor being preferred to the see, first of Worcester, and then of Canterbury, Mr. Cartwright, after his share of trouble and imprisonment (for setting up new presbyteries in divers places against the established order), having received from the archbishop many personal favours, retired himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he became master of an hospital, and lived quietly and grew rich; and where the archbishop gave him a license to preach^x, upon promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the archbishop surviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other^y.

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^x According to Strype, it is not so certain that the archbishop did grant to Cartwright a license to preach. At least it appears that in 1585 he refused to give it. "I am content and ready to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity." (*Letter of Whitgift to the Earl of Leicester, July 17, 1585.*)

^y And thus should all controversies end, or rather, if there must be controversies, thus should they commence, and be conducted with mutual charity and mutual forbearance. If truth and not victory be the object of pursuit, why should the topic of debate be canvassed with animosity or personal invective? Thomas Cartwright, the archbishop's old antagonist, was alive in 1601, and grew rich at his hospital at Warwick, preaching at the chapel there, saith my author, very temperately according to the promise made by him to the archbishop. Which mildness of his some ascribed to his old age and more experience. But the latter end of next year he deceased, out-lived little above two months by the Archbishop, who yet was much his elder in years. And now at the end of Cartwright's life to take our leave of him with a fairer character, it is remarkable what a noble and learned man (Sir H. Yelverton) writes of some of his last words:—"That he seriously lamented the unnecessary troubles he had caused in the Church, by the schism he had been the great fomentor of, and wished to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways:" and in this opinion he died. (*Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 554.*)

And now after this long digression, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers², a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as Dr. Whitgift had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself; and of which, I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this, that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and Dr. Whitgift were now at rest, and had been a great while, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessed of a faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not; men that were become positive in asserting, "that a Papist cannot be saved;" insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Bishop of Peterborough³) was reviled for not being positive for her damna-

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² Walter Travers, formerly Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, was called by Fuller, "the Neck;" as Cartwright was termed by him "the Head, of the Presbyterian party." They were intimate friends and joint preachers to the English Factory at Antwerp. When Travers came into England, he was appointed chaplain to Lord Burghley, through whose influence he was made Lecturer at the Temple. He is the supposed author of the book "De Disciplina Ecclesiastica," written in Latin against the government of the Church of England, and containing the ground and model of the Puritan discipline. Archbishop Whitgift, in a letter to the Queen, to whom Travers was recommended as a proper person to be chosen Master of the Temple, on the death of Father Alvy, describes him as "one of the chief and principal authors of dissension in the church, a contemner of the book of prayers and other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas not according to the form in this Church of England used." Mr. Travers was ordained at Antwerp, May, 8, 1578, by Cartwright, Villers, and others, the heads of a congregation there.

³ Dr. Richard Howland, Master of St. John's College in Cambridge, and the fourth Bishop of Peterborough, died in 1600. It does not appear that he was the preacher on this occasion.

Gunton, in his "History of the Church of Peterborough," page 73, &c. has given a circumstantial account of the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots, on Tuesday August 1, 1587, six months after her death, for she was beheaded in the castle of Fotheringay, February 8, in that year. He relates that the Bishop of Lincoln (Wickham) preached out of the 39th Psalm, 5, 6, 7. *Lord, let me know my end and the number of my days, &c.* In the prayer, when he gave thanks for such as were translated out of this vale of misery, he used these words:—*Let us give thanks*
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tion. And besides this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies, there was not only "Martin Mar-prelate^b," but other venomous

for the happy dissolution of the high and mighty Princess Mary, late Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, of whose life and death at this time I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other. I will not enter into judgment further; but, because it hath been signified to me that she trusted to be saved by the blood of Christ, we must hope well of her salvation: "For," as Father Luther was wont to say, "many one that liveth a Papist, dieth a Protestant." In the discourse of his text, he only dealt with general doctrine of the vanity of all flesh.

In the Supplement subjoined to "Gunton's History," page 331, the subject of the sermon is resumed—"Bishop Morton, in his 'Protestant Appeal,' l. IV. c. 1. hath given the best account I meet with of that passage (which in the 'Apology of the Roman Church' is taken out of 'Martin Mar-Prelate') in the Bishop of Lincoln's Sermon at her (the Queen of Scots) funeral, which made so great noise among factious people, who reported that *he prayed his soul and the souls of all there present might be with the soul of the Queen deceased.* But the truth of the story, he says, is this, that the reverend bishop now mentioned, understanding how that great and honourable personage in the last act of her life renounced all presumption of her own inherent righteousness, and wholly affianced her soul unto Christ, in belief to be justified only by his satisfactory justice, did therefore conceive hope of her salvation by virtue of that cordial prescribed by the holy apostle, viz. *that where sin aboundeth, the grace of God doth superabound.* Which the apostle hath ministered for the comfort of every Christian, who, erring by ignorance, shall (by sincere repentance, especially for all known sins) depart from this mortal life, having the heel or end of it shod with this preparation of the gospel of peace: not of the new Romish, but of the old Catholic faith, which is the faith of all Protestants. And this consideration of that our preacher cannot but now worthily condemn the Apologists of partial prejudice, who chose rather to be informed concerning that sermon by (as they confess) a reproachful traducer and libeller, than (which they might easily have done) by testimony of a thousand temperate and indifferent hearers then present."

^b In 1588 many libels, full of low scurrility, and petulant satire, were published against the bishops. They were principally written by a society of men, assuming the name of "Martin Mar-Prelate." They appeared under various titles, as "Diotrephes;" "the Minerals;" "The Epistle to the Consecration House;" "Have ye any Work for a Cooper?" in answer to what Cowper, Bishop of Winchester, had written in vindication of the bishops and church of England; "More Work for a Cooper," &c. &c. The authors of these publications were John Penry, a Welshman, John Udal, and other ministers.

John Penry, or John ap Henry, was in 1593 arraigned at the King's Bench, Westminster, upon the statute of the 23 Eliz. c. 2. made *against seditious words and rumours uttered against the Queen*, and soon after executed hastily, being brought in an afternoon out of the King's Bench prison.

venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash^c appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they. Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these titles, "*An Almond for A Parrot;*" *A Fig for my Godson;* "*Come crack me this Nut,*" and the like; so that his merry wit made such a discovery of their absurdities,

prison, in Southwark into St. Thomas Waterings, a place of execution; on that side the river Thames, and there hanged. (*Strype.*)

We are informed by Dr. Heylin in his "History of the Presbyterians," that the men who assumed this name of "Martin Mar-Prelate" called the archbishop "Pope of Lambeth;" "the Canterbury Caiaphas;" "Esau;" "a monstrous Antichristian Pope." The Bishops were named "Petty Popes," "Petty Antichrists," "Incarnate Devils," &c. whilst the inferior clergy were "Popish Priests," "Monks," "Ale-hunters," &c.

What effects were produced by these writings we learn from "Brightman upon the Revelation," p. 149. "There was," says he "one that called himself by the name of 'Martin Mar-Prelate,' who set forth books wherein he dealt somewhat roundly with the angel, i. e. the Bishops of the Church of England. How were those bitter jests of his favoured among the people? how willingly, greedily, and with what great mirth were they every where entertained? There is no man so rude and unskilful, but that pondering that time in his mind would say thus to himself, and that not without cause, *Truly the Lord hath poured out contempt upon Princes; those that honour him doth he honour, and those that despise him shall be despised. He hath made our priests contemptible to the whole people, because they have broken their covenant.*"

^c Mr. Thomas Nash, a man of a facetious and sarcastic disposition, was the author of numerous tracts to which he gave quaint names, as "*the Apology of Pierce Penniless;* or, *Strange News,*" &c.—"*Have with you to Saffron Walden:—Pappe with a Hatchet;* alias, *a Fig for my Godson;* or, *Cracke me this Nutt;* or, *a Country Cuffe, that is, a sound Box of the Ear for the Idiot Martin to hold his Peace;* written by one that dares call a Dog a Dog." He wrote with great pleasantry and wit against a set of men, who at that time boldly pretended to prognostications and astronomical predictions.

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"Fortius ac melius magnas plerumque secat res."

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From the various tracts written by Nash, the commentators on Shakespear have happily elucidated and explained several obscure passages of their great poet.

absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvy, who was Master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of the younger gentlemen of that society, and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the Presbyters in Antwerp^d, and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva^e, and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in this design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his endeavours to be Master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved some occasion of his opposition of Mr. Hooker's sermons publicly in the pulpit: Many of which were concerning the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies of this church; and Mr. Hooker again publicly justified his doctrine against the other's exceptions: inasmuch, that as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they. For as one hath pleasantly expressed it, "the forenoon sermons speak Canterbury, and the afternoon's Geneva."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able to prove his adversary's opinions erroneous. And thus

^d The testimonial of his ordination at Antwerp, May 14, 1578, is inserted in "Fuller's Church History," B. IX. p. 214.

^e Strype has drawn a comparison between these two rival preachers.—"Hooker was a true man to the church as established: Travers was not so. Hooker was for universal redemption, and taught the decrees of God concerning the salvation of mankind by Jesus Christ in more latitude: Travers was for the more rigid way, for absolute exclusion of the greatest part of mankind from it, and to be shut up under a decree of reprobation and re-jection. These and other opinions caused different doctrines to be preached in the same pulpit morning and afternoon."

thus it continued for a time till the oppositions became so high, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers's preaching by a positive prohibition^f; against which Mr. Travers appealed and petitioned^g her Majesty and her Privy Council to have it recalled, where he met with many assisting powerful friends; but they were not able to prevail with or against the archbishop, whom the Queen had entrusted with all church-power; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles and of his learning and

^f That prohibition was chiefly because of his foreign ordination. Their different characters as preachers are thus delineated by Dr. Gauden:—"Mr. Travers was a more plausible and profitable preacher to vulgar auditors, as well as more popular, having much more of the oratorian decoy, a pleasing voice, a pathetic pronunciation, and an insinuating fashion or gesture to captivate his auditors by his agreeable presence, vigorous speech, and graceful activity; nor were his texts and matter usually ill-chosen, or impertinently or dully handled, upon practical heads and common places of divinity. Mr. Hooker was more profound and the other more fluent: different gifts they had from the same spirit, for several uses of the church, to the same end of God's glory and souls' good, though in different ways of ministration." (*Hooker's Life*, p. 30.)

According to Fuller, the manner of silencing Travers gave great offence. "For all the congregation on a Sabbath in the afternoon were assembled together, their attention prepared, the cloth, as I may say, and napkins were laid, yea the guests set, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast, when suddenly, as Mr. Travers was going up to the pulpit, a sorry fellow served him with a letter, prohibiting him to preach any more. In obedience to authority, the mild and constant submission whereunto won him respect with his adversaries, Mr. Travers calmly signified the same to the congregation, and requested them quietly to depart to their chambers. Thus was our good Zaccheus (or rather Zacharias) struck dumb in the Temple, but not for infidelity; impartial people accounting his fault at most but indiscretion. Meantime his auditory (pained that their pregnant expectation to hear him preach should so publicly prove abortive, and sent sermonless home) manifested in their variety of passion, some grieving, some frowning, some murmuring, and the wisest sort, who held their tongues, shaked their heads, as disliking the managing of the matter." (*Fuller's Church Hist. B. IX. p. 217.*)—Upon his expulsion from the Temple he was appointed Provost of Trinity College in Dublin, at the instance of his old friend and fellow collegian Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin. He afterward resigned that office, and returned to England, where he lived many years in obscurity, but with much quiet and contentment.

^g "The Supplication made to the Council by Mr. Walter Travers" and "Mr. Hooker's Answer to it, addressed to my Lord of Canterbury his Grace," are usually printed with Mr. Hooker's works.

and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party, and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so magnified by them and many others, as never to be answered: so that intending the bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear as publicly, and print an answer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, to have in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the bishop began to wonder at the man, to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship; even a familiar friendship with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented (all or most of which I have seen written), would prove at least tedious; and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "That the assurance of what we believe by the word of God is not to us so certain, as that which we perceive by sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following:

"First: I taught that the things which God promises in his word are not
 " surer to us than that we touch handle or see: but are we so sure and
 " certain of them? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to
 " us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience? for we
 " must be surer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwise it is no
 " proof. For example, how is it that many men looking upon the moon
 " at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as
 " the other doth? But many believing one and the same promise have not
 " all the same fulness of persuasion. For how falleth it out, that men being
 " assured of any thing by sense can be no surer of it than they are; when
 " as the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth has always need to
 " labour, strive, and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spi-
 " ritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented?"

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The sermon that gave him the cause of this his justification makes the case more plain, by declaring, "that there is, besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence^b." In which, having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it: "Comfortable," he says, "as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward testimony of it."

Tell this to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that, by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, "Do not persuade me, against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself: I do not, I know I do not believe." (Mr. Hooker's own words follow.) "Well then, to favour such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's promises, but are faithless and without belief. But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confess they are. Do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherwise? We know they do. Whence cometh this but from a secret love and liking, that they have of those things believed? For no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and if they think those things to be, which they shew they love, when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that, by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true believers: for without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the subtilties of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reasons he gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

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^bThe discourse alluded to is entitled "A learned and comfortable Sermon of the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect, especially of the Prophet Habakkuk's Faith. Habak. i. 4. Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting this Cogitation into his Mind, *The Law doth fail*, did thereby shew himself an Unbeliever."

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he, in one of his sermonsⁱ, had declared, "That he doubted not but that God was merciful "to save many of our forefathers living heretofore in Popish superstition, "for as much as they sinned ignorantly^k;" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth:

But first (because Travers's argument against this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be saved because they sought to be justified by the merit of their works, and so overthrew the foundation of faith) he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus (they be his own words that follow): "That, the way "of nature; this, the way of-grace: the end of that way salvation merited, "presupposing the righteousness of men's works: their righteousness a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodness of God which created "them in such perfection. But the end of this way, salvation bestowed "upon men as a gift: presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, justification; their justification, not their "natural

ⁱ "A learned Discourse of Justification, Works, and how the Foundation of Faith is overthrown. Habakkuk i. 4. *The Wicked doth compass about the Righteous; therefore perverse Judgment doth proceed.*"

^k "Mr. Hooker affirmed the Church of Rome to be, though not a pure, sound, and perfect church, yet a true one, in which the necessary and fundamental means of salvation are preserved, but much diseased and obscured by superstitious superstructure, to the great danger of people's souls, and detriment, as well as dishonour, of the Christian religion, in its holy institutions, morals, and mysteries. Mr. Travers, on the other side, earnestly contended against the Church of Rome, as no church of Christ, but wholly a synagogue of Satan, and the seat of Antichrist, denying salvation to all those that held communion with her. Thus charity in the one, and zeal in the other, both Christian and commendable graces, carried them far from each other." (*Dr. Gauden's Life of Hooker*, p. 30.)

“natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children; their election, a mediator in whom to be elect: this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing their misery for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make himself a mediator.”

And he also declareth, “there is no meritorious cause for our justification: but Christ; no effectual but his mercy;” and says also, “we deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it.” This belief, he declareth, is to destroy the very essence of our justification; and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. “Yet nevertheless,” and for this he was accused, “considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves:” because by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, “Such men are damned, there is for them no salvation?” St. Austin says, “Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo.” And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? give me a pope or a cardinal¹, whom great afflictions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his gospel; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and because

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¹ “I do not,” says Mr. Hooker, “propose to you a pope with the neck of an emperor under his feet, a cardinal riding his horse to the bridle in the blood of saints, but a pope or a cardinal sorrowful, penitent, disrobed, stript not only of usurped power, but also delivered and recalled from error and Antichrist; converted, and lying prostrate at the foot of Christ; and shall I think that Christ will spurn at him; and shall I cross and gainsay the merciful promises of God, generally made unto penitent sinners, by opposing the name of a pope or a cardinal.” (*Hooker's Works*, Vol. III. p. 485.)

he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, "Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins!" Shall I think, because of this, or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? if they do, wherefore should I doubt, but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, "You err in your opinion, but be of good comfort; you have to do with a merciful God, who will make the best of that little which you hold well, and not with a captious sophister, who gathered the worst out of every thing in which you are mistaken."

But it will be said, "The admittance of merit, in any degree, overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation." (And now Mr Hooker's own words follow):

"What though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith? although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the spirit? although they have all other tokens of God's children in them? although they be far from having any proud opinion that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds? although the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear, arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves? although they be not obstinate in this opinion? although they be willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it? although the only cause why they do not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be disproved? although the cause why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not to remove it? Let me die," says Mr. Hooker, "if it be ever proved, that simply an error doth exclude a pope or cardinal in such a case utterly from the hope of life. Surely, I must confess, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to save men, even when they err, my greatest comfort is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they prove useful to my

my reader; as also for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal clarity. Other exceptions were also made against him, as, "that he prayed before, and not after his sermons; that in his prayers he named bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed, and when he received the sacrament; and," says Mr. Hooker, in his defence, "other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I should have thought a greater fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons; to your railing I say nothing; to your reasons I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man. Doubtless, if Almighty God had blest the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this church, with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kissed each other; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this church and state had been blest like "Jerusalem, that is at unity with itself;" but that can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people with a belief, "that schism is a sin, and that there may be offences taken which are not given; and that laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey."

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers, against Mr. Hooker, were the cause of his transcribing several of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books; of his "Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication;" and of his most learned and useful "Discourse of Justification, of Faith, and Works;" and, by their transcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings have been; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his "Answer to the Petition of Mr. Travers," Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his church-discipline; insomuch, that

that though Mr. Travers left the place^m, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness of this humble man: for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Mr. Travers's judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief; and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate and sober treatise on the church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it; and, that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the dissenting brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in holy writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon; than which none was ever more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spencer, might after his death justly say, "What admirable height of learning and depth of judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man; great in all wise men's eyes except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries; whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always cast down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted gall; let those, who knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writingsⁿ."

The

^m It redounds much to the credit both of Cartwright and Travers, that in the evening of their lives they became more temperate and moderate in their conduct. There is no doubt but that many of the younger part of his audience were extremely attached to the person and doctrine of Travers. Hence they contracted an utter aversion to the English hierarchy, and those of them who afterwards sat in the House of Commons discovered great partiality to the Puritans.

ⁿ See Dr. Spencer's Address to the Reader, prefixed to the first editions of "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and therefore solicited the archbishop for a remove, to whom he spake to this purpose: "My Lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage; but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place, and indeed God and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. And, my Lord, my particular contests here with Mr. Travers have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the holy Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with us, as to alter our frame of church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as their tender consciences shall require us. And, in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself; but have begun a treatise, in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a demonstration of the reasonableness of our laws of ecclesiastical polity; and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the church's peace; and, so as not to provoke your adversary Mr. Cartwright, nor Mr. Travers, whom I take to be mine (but not mine enemy), God knows this to be my meaning. To which end I have searched many books, and spent many thoughtful hours; and, I hope, not in vain; for I write to reasonable men. But, my Lord, I shall never be able to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into some quiet country parsonage, where I may see God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy. A place where I may, without disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great account, which all flesh must at the last great day give to the God of all spirits.

"This is my design; and, as these are the desires of my heart, so they shall, by God's assistance, be the constant endeavours of the uncertain remainder of my life. And therefore, if your Grace can think me and my poor labours worthy such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun; which is a blessing I cannot hope for in this place."

About

About the time of this request to the bishop, the parsonage or rectory of Boscum^o, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that see (which was three years betwixt the death of Bishop Pierce^p, and Bishop Caldwell's^q admission into it), the disposal of that, and all benefices belonging to it during the time of this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in this said year instituted (July 17) to be a minor prebendary of Salisbury, the corps to it being Netherhavin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church^r. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," and these were entered into the register-book in Stationer's-hall, the 9th of March 1592, but not printed till the year 1594, and then with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface which he directs to them that seek (as they term it) the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the church of England; of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter); but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He

^o Boscombe R. St. Andrew's, in the deanery of Amesbury, in the archdeaconry of Sarum.

^p Or rather as it is in the earlier editions, "Betwixt the translation of Bishop Pierce to the see of York, and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it. Dr. John Pierce, bishop of Salisbury, "was elected to the see of York, Feb. 1, 1588, confirmed Feb. 17, and enthronised by proxy "the 27th of the same month. He died Sept. 28, 1594." (*Le Neve.*)

^q John Caldwell, M. D. of St. John's College in Cambridge, was in 1591 promoted from the deanery of Rochester to the see of Salisbury, after it had been vacant three years. He died in 1596.

^r He became prebendary of Netherhavin, and subdean of the church of Salisbury, on the resignation of Dr. Nicholas Balguy, who succeeded him in the Mastership of the Temple.— This prebend remains charged in the King's books at 28l. 19s. 2d. and has moreover the patronage of the vicarage of Netherhavin. The preferment for which it was intended to qualify him was a residentiaryship of Sarum, the canons residentiary of that church, six in number, being elected out of the prebendaries.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell, and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it, the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's-Borne, in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishop's gift, but in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich; by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne, the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594^s. Next I am to tell, that at the end of

Qq

these

* Mr. Hooker sent a written copy of his book, in 1592, to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, accompanied with the following letter:

" My duty in most humble manner remembered. So it is, my good Lord, that manitimes affection causes those things to be don, which would rather be forborn, if men were wholly guided by judgment. Albeit, therefore, I must needs in reason condemne myself of over-great boldness for thus presuming to offer to your Lordship's view my poor and slender labours: yet, because that which moves me so to do is a dutiful affection some way to manifeft itself; and glad to take this present occasion for want of other more worthy your Lordship's acceptation. I am in that behalf not out of hope your Lordship's wisdom will the easier pardon my fault; the rather because myself am persuaded that my faultiness had been greater, if these writings concerning the nobler part of those laws under which we live should not have craved, with the first, your Lordship's favorable approbation. Whose painful care to uphold all laws, and especially the ecclesiastical, hath by the space of so many years so apparently shewed itself: that if we who enjoy the benefit thereof did dissemble it, they, whose malice doth most envy our good therein, would convince our unthankfulness. Wherefore submitting both myself, and these my simple doings into your Lordship's most wise judgment, I here humbly take my leave. London, the 13th of March, 1592.

" Your Lordship's most willingly at commandment,

" RICHARD HOOKER."

(From Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, Appendix, B. IV. N. XVII.)

these four books, there is printed this advertisement to the reader :—" I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the reader is requested to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that Cardinal Allen^{*}, or learned Dr. Stapleton^u (both Englishmen, and in Italy when Mr. Hooker's four books were first printed), meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that

^{*} See "Collier's Eccles. Hist." Vol. II. p. 643. "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. p. 268. and the inscription on Cardinal Allen's monument in the chapel of the English College at Rome. "Biograph. Brit." Vol. I. p. 80. [H.]

He was for some time fellow of Oriel College in Oxford, and Principal of St. Mary Hall. He displayed the most ardent zeal in defending the religion of his ancestors, left his country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and fled to France. Here he distinguished himself by taking under his protection the English refugees, many of whom he placed in two seminaries at Douay and Rheims. He was rewarded by Pope Sixtus V. with a cardinal's hat in 1587, with the title of Cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount. In 1589, he was appointed Archbishop of Mechlin in Brabant, and died about 1594. Pope Gregory XIII. entertained so high an opinion of him, that he introduced him to his cardinals with these words, "Venite, fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum."

^u We learn from the letter of King, Bishop of Chichester, to Mr. Isaac Walton, that Dr. Stapleton was the person who named "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity" to Pope Clement VIII. Thomas Stapleton, D. D. descended from a noble and ancient family in the county of Suffex, left England on account of his religion, and retired into Flanders. He read lectures in divinity at Douay and afterward, at the express invitation of the King of Spain, filled the professor's chair at Louvain. He was much esteemed for his virtues and his learning, being classed second to Bellarmine in controversial skill. He was born in 1535, and died at Louvain in 1598. His works were printed at Paris in 1620, in four volumes folio. (*Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p. 292.*)

that both the reformed and the learned of their own church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for; and after reading of them boasted to the Pope (which was then Clement the Eighth), "That though he had lately said, he never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had wrote four such books of laws and church-polity, and in a style that expressed so grave and such humble majesty, with clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him:" and this begot in the pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin; which Dr. Stapleton did; to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which, the pope spake to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding: This man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker; that writ the books of Church-polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the King replied, "And I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose books I have received such satisfaction: Indeed, my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches^x, or church-music^y, or the like, but especially of the sacraments^z; than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects.

Q q 2.

by

^x "Eccles. Polit." B. v. Sect. 14.

^y This subject is most excellently discussed in "Eccles. Polit." B. v. Sect. 38.

^z "Eccles. Polit." B. v. Sect. 50.

“ others, though very learned men : and, I observe, there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language ; but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason ; and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fathers, and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten ; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker’s book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author.” And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake ; that, as the most learned of the nation have and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence ; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles I.^a ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker’s books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden, in his “ Annals of Eliz.” mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, “ that, for the honour of this and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language^b.” Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it ; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earle^c, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not

^a Charles I. a few days before his death, recommended to his dearest children the diligent reading of the first five books of “ The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,” even next the Bible, as an excellent means to satisfy private scruples, and settle the public peace of this church and kingdom. And in his will he bequeathed to the Princess Elizabeth, his daughter, the Sermons of Bishop Andrews ; Archbishop Laud’s book against Fisher, which, he said, would ground her against Popery ; and Mr. Hooker’s “ Ecclesiastical Polity.”

^b “ Richardi Hooker scripta ante annos multos vidi, et quanquam in sermone mihi non percognito facile cognovi exactissimè operis utilitatem : quæ tanta est, ut hunc quoque librum verti, sed in Latinum sermonem, pervelim. (*Grotius in Epistolâ ad Mer. Casaubonum.*)—— See also “ Kennet’s complete History of England,” Vol. II. p. 619.

^c Dr. John Earle, author of “ The World displayed ; or, several Essays, consisting of the various Characters and Passions of its principal Inhabitants,” was first of Christ Church, and then

not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live and yet know him not), that since Mr. Hooker died none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive, temper; so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy

then of Merton College in Oxford, tutor to Prince Charles, afterward Charles I. In 1643, he was elected one of the Assembly of Divines; but he refused to act, and lost all he had for his loyalty. After the Restoration, he was Dean of Westminster, and successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury. He was one of the coadjutors in the revival of our present Liturgy. He is described as a very genteel man, yet religious and a contemner of the world: In his youth an excellent orator and poet; in his advanced years an admirable preacher and disputant. By the testimony of an enemy, he was a person of the sweetest and most obliging good-nature that lived in his age; and none since has lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, primitive, peaceable temper. He attended the Court when they retired to Oxford from the plague, and died Nov. 17, 1665, and was buried on the 25th of that month, near the high altar in Merton College church. His body was attended to the grave from the public schools by a herald of arms, and the principal persons of the Court and University. (See the Preface to "The World Displayed.")

His "Translation of the Ecclesiastical Polity" was never printed. That of the *ικων βασιλικη* was published under the title of "Imago Regis Caroli Primi, in Ærumnis et Solitudine. Hag. Com. 1649." 12mo.

" Ille qui Hookeri ingentis ' Politiam Ecclesiasticam,' "

" Ille qui Caroli Martyris *Εικονα βασιλικην*

" (Volumen quo post Apocalypsin divinius nullum)

" Legavit orbi sic Latinè redditas,

" Ut uterque unius fidei defensor

" Patriam adhuc retineat majestatem. .

" Si nomen ejus necdum tibi suboleat, lector, .

" Nomen ejus, ut unguenta pretiosa, .

" JOHANNES EARLE, EBORACENSIS," &c. .

(Inscription on Dr. Earle's monument in the choir and chancel of Merton College.)

In "The Musæ Anglicanæ," Vol. I. p. 286, is a copy of elegant Latin verses written by him, on the return of the Prince from Spain; and we are informed by Lord Clarendon, that he was an excellent poet, both in Latin, Greek, and English. .

happy in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island^d.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers; enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know; and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia^e, then one of the prebendaries of Canterbury, a German by birth, and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had

^d This character of Mr. Hooker's Works is confirmed by the approbation of our best writers. Is it not then painful to read in a modern author, whose learning and critical knowledge deserve every encomium, of '*A malicious observation of Hooker, and as remote from truth as it is from charity*?' (See "*Memoirs of the Life of Gilbert Wakefield*," p. 132.)

^e Dr. Hadrian Saravia, the bosom friend of Whitgift, as well as of Mr. Hooker, was of Spanish extraction, and born at Hedin in Artois. He was a minister of the reformed church in Holland. Having taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Leyden, he was afterward incorporated in the same faculty at Oxford. He came into England in 1587 or 1588. He had first removed himself to Jersey, where he taught a school, and preached to his countrymen, who were exiles there. He was appointed master of the free-grammar school at Southampton, where Mr. Nicholas Fuller, the most renowned critic of his age, received his education principally under him. By him also was educated Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State to King James I. who said of him, "that he was a minister of state fit to serve the greatest prince in Europe." He was successively promoted to a prebend in the churches of Gloucester, Canterbury, and Westminster. He displayed great learning in defence of Episcopacy against Beza, when that divine, interfering with the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, advised the chancellor of that kingdom to abrogate Episcopacy. He lived to the age of eighty-two years, and died in 1612. In the inscription on his monument, in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, he is styled, "*Vir in omni literarum genere eximius, pietate, probitate, gravitate, et suavitatem morum insignis, scriptis clarus, fide plenus, et bonis operibus dives valde.*" All his works were published in one volume, in 1611. He must have acquired a very considerable knowledge of the English language, as we find his name in the first class of those whom King James I. employed to make a new and more correct version of the Bible. (See "*Strype's Life of Whitgift*," p. 422.)

had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and sacrilege, and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers in the Low Countries, which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially of three; one of the Degrees of Ministers^f, and of the Bishops' Superiority above the Presbytery; a second against Sacrilege; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus^g, the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when in a time of church tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy (which he calls divine, human, and Satanical): this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public; and therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the archbishop; and printed about the year in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his four books of "Ecclesiastical Polity."

This friendship being sought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him as to be engaged

^f 1. "De diversis Gradibus Ministrorum Evangelii." 2. "De Honore Præfultibus et Presbyteris debito." 3. "De Sacrilegis et Sacrilegorum Pœnis." The first of these tracts was written against those of the church of Geneva, who maintained the doctrine of the equality of the ministers of the gospel and a ruling presbytery. This and the other tracts were also printed in English under these titles, viz. 1. "Of the divers Degrees of the Ministers of the Gospel." 2. "Of the Honour which is due unto Priests and Prelates of the Church." 3. "Of Sacrilege, and the Punishment thereof." 4. "Of Christian Obedience to Princes."

^g A most learned Jesuit, and the ablest controvertist of his age. He read a course of theological lectures with great reputation at Ingolstadt, where he died in 1625, aged 63 years. His works were published at Ratisbon, in 1734, in thirteen volumes folio. (*Dictionnaire Historique.*)

engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Bishop's-Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the church; still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas! as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, "What went they out to see! a man clothed in purple and fine linen?" No, indeed; but an obscure harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul: his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life^b. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour; God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same timeⁱ; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind; yet

^b When Justus Lipsius had acquired great literary reputation, not by his elegant Latinity, for his style is full of affectation, novelty, and conceit, but by his vast and extensive erudition, several foreigners came from distant countries to visit him. They were much disappointed at seeing him a plain man, mean in his behaviour, dress, and conversation. (*Bayle's Dictionary.*)

ⁱ The strongest adamant that draws our reverence and love to this excellent man is his humility. He banished from his bosom every appearance of that pride which is invariably inconsistent with the virtuous character.

yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe that his modesty and dim-sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose a wife for him.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who still lives); and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness: in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning; but it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament^k; the present parson of Borne was sequestered (you may guess why), and a Genevian minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had sequestered so many good men, that he doubted if his good master, Mr. Hooker, had lived till now, they would have sequestered him too."

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as in Geneva; to which end the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table for them to sit and eat and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions. When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bade him "cease wondering and lock the church-door." To whom he replied, "Pray, take you the keys and lock me out,

R r

"I will

^k "Of those *great and wise* men who composed this Parliament of 1641, and greater and wiser, or more of them at one time, England never saw." (*Preface to the first edition of the Confessional*, p. xxviii.)

Thus has the author of "The Confessional" characterised that Parliament, which involved three enslaved kingdoms in confusion and ruin; which, under the vain pretence of reformation, destroyed one of the best of our kings, and laid waste the church of England; that church, which under God hath been long the ornament and support of the Protestant religion.

"I will never come more into this church; for all men will say my Master Hooker was a good man and a good scholar, and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days:" And report says, the old man went presently home and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after¹.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations: his use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer. His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal and a humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place^m, to prevent his imagination from wandering; inasmuch that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety: studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted), as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and sub-distinctions to amuse his hearers and get glory to himself, but glory only.

¹ Our biographer has lamented that it was not in his power to recover the name of Mr. Hooker's worthy schoolmaster. That of his grateful parish-clerk was Sampson Horton. It appears from the parish-register of Bishop's-Borne, that "Sampson Horton was buried the 9th of May 1648, an aged man, who had bin Clarke to this parish, by his own relation, three score yeares."

^m "He was," says Dr. Gauden, "so confident of the sacred power and efficacy of the matter he delivered, that he thought it needed no great setting off: This made him so far from any life in his looks, gestures, or pronunciations, that he preached like a *living* but scarce *moving* statue, his eyes steadfastly fixed on the same place from the beginning to the end of his sermons, his body unmoved, his tone much to an unison, and very unemphatic; so variously doth God distribute his gifts." (*Life of Hooker*, p. 30.)

only to God. Which intention, he would often say, "was as discernible
"in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty".

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy, but especially for the last; saying often, "that the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and
"so convincing that the most godless men (though they would not deny
"themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish
"themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually, every Ember-week, take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

R r 2

He

ⁿ In the printed sermons of Mr. Hooker there are, indeed, many instances of just and animated application. In his discourse on "the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect," there are few who will not admire the following passage: "It was not the meaning of our
"Lord and Saviour in saying, *Father, keep them in thy name*, that we should be careless to
"keep ourselves. To our own safety our own fidelity is required. And then blessed for
"ever and ever be that mother's child whose faith hath made him the child of God. The
"earth may shake, the pillars of the world may tremble under us; the countenance of heaven
"may be appalled, the sun may lose his light, the moon her beauty, the stars their glory;
"but concerning the man that trusted in God, if the fire have proclaimed itself unable as
"much as to singe a hair of his head; if lions, beasts ravenous by nature and keen with hun-
"ger, being set to devour, have, as it were, religiously adored the very flesh of the faithful
"man; what is there in the world that shall change his heart, overthrow his faith, alter his
"affection towards God or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who shall make
"a separation between me and my God? *Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine,*
"*or nakedness, or peril, or sword?* No: I am persuaded, that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor
"persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor
"principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other
"creature, shall ever prevail so far over me: I know in whom I have believed; I am not ignorant
"whose precious blood hath been shed for me; I have a shepherd full of kindness, full of care,
"and full of power; unto him I commit myself; his own finger hath engraven this sentence
"on the tables of my heart. *Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that*
"*thy faith fail not*: therefore the assurance of my hope I will labour to keep as a jewel,
"unto the end; and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his prayer, I shall keep it."

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation, he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness and mutual kindnesses and love; because "Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities".

He was diligent to inquire who of his parish were sick, or any way distressed, and would often visit them unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having, by pious reasons and prayers, moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions; and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) "he that lives in love lives in God; for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love, constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was *to watch and pray*, and always keep themselves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often: for it was both a confirming and a strengthening of their graces. This was his advice, and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family,

° It was among the injunctions given by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, on the abolition of those ceremonies, which attended the Popish processions, "that the parishioners shall once in the year, at the time accustomed, with the curate and the substantial men of the parish, *walk about the parishes* as they were accustomed, and at their returne to the church make their common prayers." Many reasons concur to evince the necessity of reviving the custom of holding these perambulations frequently and regularly. See in "The Book of Homilies," p. 314 (Oxford edit. 1683), an exhortation to be spoken to such parishes where they use their perambulation in Rogation-week for the oversight of the bounds and limits of their town.

family, and bleſs them by name; inſomuch, that as he ſeemed in his youth to be taught of God, ſo he ſeemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him in all holineſs and humility; making each day a ſtep towards a bleſſed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, ſuch examples are become barren, and almoſt incredible; yet let his memory be bleſſed with this true recordation, becauſe he that praiſes Richard Hooker praiſes God, who hath given ſuch gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become ſuch a pattern as may invite poſterity to imitate his virtues^p.

This was his conſtant behaviour at Borne; thus as Enoch, ſo he, walked with God; thus did he tread in the footſteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekneſs and purity, even our bleſſed Jeſus, was not free from falſe accuſations, no more was this diſciple of his, this moſt humble, moſt innocent, holy man. His was a ſlander parallel to that of chaſte Suſannah's by the wicked elders; or that againſt St. Athanaſius^q, as it is recorded in his life (for that holy man had heretical enemies), and which this

^p We may ſurely apply to this good man theſe lines of Mr. Cowley:

“ ————— his harmleſs life

“ Does with ſubſtantial bleſſedneſs abound,

“ And the ſoft wings of Peace cover him round.”

The Editor of this Work reads this deſcription with inexpressible ſatiſfaction, as it recalls to his remembrance the character of a much-honoured parent, who, in the inſtances of duty here related, literally trod in the ſteps of good Mr. Hooker; a bright example of primæval piety, adorning all the acquirements of a ſcholar and a divine with an unblemished ſanctity of life and manners.

“ Nil me pœniteat ſanum patris hujus.”

HOR.

^q “ Scribit Theodoretus (lib. I. cap. 3.) ſubornatam ab Arianis mulierem poſtulâſſe Athanaſium illati ſibi per vim ſtupri, cum illum ſuſcepiffet hoſpitio. Cum igitur mulier in Athanaſium ſuas querelas proponeret, progrediens Timotheus Preſbyter, *Egone*, ait, *mulier, vim tibi et ſtuprum intuli?* Tum ipſa credens eſſe ſibi ignotum Athanaſium, convitiis ſacerdotem excipiens, rem præſractius aſſeverat, et judicum fidem contra Timotheum obteſtatur ad ſceleris vindictam.” (*Notitia Conciliorum, &c. p. 123.*)

this age calls trepanning^r. The particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said, that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me; but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and, being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwyn Sandys and George Cranmer, who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: to which the good man's reply was to this purpose, "The Lord forgive them; and the Lord bless you for this comfortable news". Now I have a just occasion to say with Solomon,

" Friends

" ———as if one eye

" Upon the other were a spy;

" That to *trepán* the one to think

" The other blind, both strove to blink."

(HUDIBRAS, Part III. Canto. II. ver. 356.)

" *Trepann'd* the state, and fac'd it down,

" With plots and projects of our own."

Ib. ver. 832.

* "A certain lewd woman came to his chamber, and solicited his charity under this cogent argument, 'that if he should deny her, she would lay base attempts to his charge;' and by this means, at several times, she had gotten money from him; until at last Providence was pleas'd to concern itself for the righting wronged innocence. It so fell out, that this woman came to him when his two dear friends Mr. Sandys and Mr. Cranmer were with him: wondering to see such a person come with so much confidence, they inquired of their tutor the occasion of it, who in a little time tells them the truth of the whole abuse. Upon which they contrive a way to be present in his chamber, where they might hear the whole discourse at her next coming.

“ *Friends are born for the days of adversity*, and such you have proved to me : and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, *Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.* And, O my God, neither my life, nor my reputation are safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me when I yet hanged on my mother’s breast. Blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord ; for when false witnesses were risen up against me ; when shame was ready to cover my face ; when I was bowed down with an horrible dread, and went mourning all the day long ; when my nights were restless, and my sleeps broken with a fear worse than death ; when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth for the rivers of water ; then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer ; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner ; and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies. O blessed are they that put their trust in thee ; and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrows, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my fears and affliction ; for with such sacrifices thou, O God, art well pleased ; and I will pay them.”

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man’s heart break forth ; and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable ; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated. For though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation), Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, “ Vengeance is mine : ” and though this be said by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly per-

coming. An opportunity soon offered, and the lewd woman persisting in her threats of laying ill things to his charge, if she was denied what she came for, money, his two friends stepped forth from behind the curtains to her confusion and the shame of those who had employed her in so vile an action ; for his slanderers were punished for this their vile attempt, who at their suffering shewed a penitent behaviour, and made an open confession.” (*Prince’s Worthies*, &c. p. 396.)

persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be own executioner of it. And yet, nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That, however, he would fast and pray, that God would give them repentance and patience to undergo their punishment. And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, "O with what quietness did I enjoy my soul, after I was free from the fears of my slander! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge'."

In the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage betwixt London and Gravesend, from the malignity of which, he was never recovered; for till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights; but a submission to his will that makes the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,) "That he did not beg a long life of God, for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace"; which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the benefit of them as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to books.

But

* "When an unworthy aspersions was cast on Mr. Hooker—(If Christ was dashed, shall Christians escape in their journey to heaven?)—Mr. Travers being asked of a private friend what he thought of the truth of the accusation? "*In truth*," said he, "*I take Mr. Hooker to be a holy man*." A speech which, coming from an adversary, sounds no less to the commendation of his charity who spoke it, than to the praise of his piety of whom it was spoken." (*Fuller*.)-

"How different this from the application of the same words by Hugh Peters, and by an advocate for political reform in later times!

But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts, and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and wrote. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretel him, that his years were past away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst*.

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" and being answered that they were, his reply was, "Then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the church's absolution, it was resolved the doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end the doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him and some of those friends that were with him the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch, that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance,

S s

pearance,

- * "The chamber where the good man meets his fate -
- "Is privileg'd beyond the common walk
- "Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven.
- "Fly, ye profane! if not, draw near with awe,
- "Receive the blessing, and adore the chance
- "That threw in this Bethesda your disease;
- "If unrestor'd by this, despair your cure.

(*YOUNG'S Night Thoughts.*)

pearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts: to which he replied, "That he was meditating 'the number and nature of angels', and 'their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and oh! that it might be so on earth!'" After which words, he said, "I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near: And though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? And, therefore, where I have failed, Lord, shew mercy to me; for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits who died to purchase a pardon for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I submit to it! Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done!" With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions; for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from which blessed assurance, I feel that inward joy which this world can neither give nor take from me." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep².

And

¹ That Mr. Hooker in the full vigour of his understanding did lift up his eyes as it were from the footstool to the throne of God to consider the state of heavenly and divine creatures, see "Eccles. Polity," B. I. §. iv. "The subject which engaged Mr. Hooker's dying thoughts ought constantly to engage our living ones; since in the prayer composed and delivered out to his disciples by our Lord and Saviour, the obedience of the angels is proposed as the pattern to be imitated by us, as the copy after which we should diligently write, *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.*" (*Bishop Horne's Sermons, Vol. IV. p. 322.*)

² He died Nov. 2, 1600. Thus the day of his death was noted by Archbishop Laud, in the title-page of his copy of "The Ecclesiastical Polity."

And here I draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the patriarchs and apostles, the most noble army of martyrs and confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of. In the mean time, *Bless, O Lord! Lord, bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with ardent desires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation: for these are praise-worthy; these bring peace at the last! And let the labours of his life, his most excellent writings, be blessed with what he designed when he undertook them: which was glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy church, and good will to mankind. Amen, Amen.*

Ss. 2.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TO THE LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

AND now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and, I hope, my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so examined it, as to be confident, I mistake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who in his "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monument^a, set up at the charge of Sir William

^a The following is an accurate copy of the inscription on Mr Hooker's monument :—

SUNT MELIORA MIHI.

RICHARDUS HOOKER EXONIENSIS SCHOLARIS SOCIUSQ; COLLEGII CORP.
XTH OXON: DEINDE LONDINIIS TEMPLI INTERIORIS IN SACRIS MAGI-
STER RECTORQ; HUJUS ECCLÆ. SCRIPSIT VIII LIBROS POLITIÆ ECCLE-
SIASTICÆ ANGLICANÆ, QUORUM TRES DESIDERANTUR. OBIIT ANº
DOM. MDC ÆTATIS SUÆ L. ijj
POSUIT HOC PHSIMO VIRO MONUMENTUM ANº DOM. MDCXXXIII. GULI-
ELMUS COWPER ARMIGER IN CHRISTO JESU QUEM GENUIT PER EVAN-
GELIUM. 1 Cor. iv. 15.

Sir

William Cooper in Borne church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is said to be anno 1603, but doubtless both are mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner the archbishop's register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October the 26th in anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following^b. And this attested also, that at his death he left four daughters, Alice,

Sir William Cowper, who erected this monument, was the great grandfather of William, the first Earl Cowper, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. He was created first a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and afterward a Baronet of England in 1641. He suffered imprisonment, the loss of his son, and other great calamities, for his fidelity to Charles I. He outlived all his troubles, residing at his castle of Hertford, and famed for his hospitality, charity, and other Christian virtues, often visiting his poor neighbours at their houses, and relieving them in private according to their necessities.

^b The following is extracted from the registry of the archdeacon's court of Canterbury.

In the name of God Amen This sixe and twentieth of October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and sixe hundred I Richard Hooker of Bishopesborne though sicke in bodye yet sounde in minde thanks be unto almighty God doe ordeaine and make this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge First I bequeth my soule unto Almighty God my creator hopinge assuredly of my salvation purchased thorough the death of Christ Iesus and my bodye to the earth to be buried at the discretion of mine executor Item I gibe and bequeth unto my daughter Alice Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money to be payde unto her at the daye of her marriage Item I gibe and bequeth unto my daughter Cieslye Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money to be paid unto her at the daye of her marriage Item I gibe and bequeth unto my daughter Jane Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money to be paid unto her at the daye of her marriage Item I gibe unto my daughter Margaret Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money to be paid unto her at the daye of her marriage And if it shall happen any of my said daughters to departe this life before the daye of their said marriage then I will that her or their portion so diesinge shal be equally divided amonge her or their sisters survyvinge Item I gibe and bequeth unto the poor of the p̄she of Warha five pounds of lawfull money to be paid unto them by mine executor Item I gibe unto the poore of the p̄she of Bishopesborne fiftye shillings of lawfull Englishe money to be paid unto them by mine executor Item I gibe and bequeth three pounds of lawfull Englishe money towards the buildinge and makeing of a newe and sufficient pulpett in the p̄she church
of

Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret ; that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds ; that he left Joane his wife his sole executrix ; and that by his inventory his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092l. 9s. 2d. which was much more than he thought himself worth ; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping it : of which will I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more, was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and both dead long since. Margaret, his youngest daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Clark, bachelor in divinity, and rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living and in sacred orders, being at this time Rector of Waldron in Suffex ; she left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding ; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of one hundred and twenty-one years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For

of Bishopeshorne The residue of goods and chattells whatsoever unbequethed my funeral debts and legacies discharged and paid I give unto Joane Hooker my welbeloved wife whom I ordaine and make sole executor of this my last will and testament And I ordaine and make my welbeloved father Mr. John Churchman and my assured good frende Mr. Edwin Sandes my overseers By me Richard Hooker Sealed and delibered in the presence of these whose names are subscribed Robert Rose Daniel Nichols Avery Cheston. ||.

Proved the third day of December 1600, before the Reverend James Bissel Clerk Surrogate to the Right Honourable George Newman Doctor of Laws Commissary General of the city and diocese of Canterbury by the oath of Joane Hooker widow the resid and sole executrix named in the said will, &c.

£. s. d.
In^y 1092 9 2

THO^s. BACKHOUSE, Registrar.

Ex^d WM. CULLEN.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable ; and for his wife she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood ; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage ; for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife and his children : I am next to speak of his books, concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597, and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight ; but whether we have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question ; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband ; of which she would not or could not give any account ; and I have been told, that about three months after the bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined by some of her Majesty's Council, concerning the disposal of those books ; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the bishop invited her to Lambeth ; and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, " that one Mr. Chark^c, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury,

^c This could not be Mr. Ezekiel Chark, B. D. who married Margaret, the youngest daughter of Mr. Hooker. The person here meant was probably Mr. William Charke, a noted puritan, deprived of his fellowship at Peterhouse in the university of Cambridge, and banished from the university for having asserted in a Latin sermon, preached at St. Mary's, Dec. 3, 1572, " that the states of bishops, archbishops, metropolitans (patriarchs), and lastly of popes, were " introduced into the church by Satan ; and that among the ministers of the church one ought " not to be superior to another." (*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 43.)

“terbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband’s study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her, that they were writings not fit to be seen, and that she knew nothing more concerning them.” Her lodging was then in King-street, in Westminster, where she was found next morning, dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker) who was of Mr. Hooker’s college, and of his time there; and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity: This Dr. Spencer (the three first books being lost) had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker’s hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. A fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker’s five books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful, as the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer; in which epistle the reader may find these very words, which may give some authority to what I have here written.

“And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved *Benonies*, sons of pain and sorrow: but some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them; and, by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old, imperfect, mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces: no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them *Benonies*, the sons of sorrow; but being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended
“ the

“ the world shall see them as they are : the learned will find in them some
 “ shadows and resemblances of their father’s face. God grant, that as they
 “ were with their brethren dedicated to the church for messengers of peace,
 “ so, in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them,
 “ they may prosper in their work, and that, by satisfying the doubts of such
 “ as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of
 “ these our civil wars !

“ J. S.”

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spencer’s was writ, and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies ; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker’s rough draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr. Spencer, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess, by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer’s wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, “ that her husband had made up or finished Mr. Hooker’s last three books ; and “ that upon her husband’s death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them “ into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but be “ by her delivered into the hands of the then archbishop of Canterbury, “ which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, Bishop of London ; and that “ she did as he enjoined her.”

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spenceer’s and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and were to be found in several places, as namely, in Sir Thomas Bodlie’s library, in that of Dr. Andrew’s late Bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway’s, in the Archbishop of Canterbury’s, and in the Bishop of Armagh’s, and in many others ; and most of these pretended to be the author’s own hand, being much disagreeing ; being, indeed, altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker’s judgment suit with their fancies or give authority to their corrupt designs ; and, for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies :

T t

Dr.

Dr. Barnard, sometime chaplain to Dr. Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called "Clavi Trabales^d," printed by Rich. Hodgkinson, anno 1661, that, in his search and examination of the said bishop's manuscripts, he there found the three written books, which were the supposed sixth, seventh, and eighth, of Mr. Hooker's books of "Ecclesiastical Polity;" and that, in the said three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's), there are so many omissions that they amount to many paragraphs; and which cause many incoherencies; the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of them:

"First, As there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmovable; even so in politic societies there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment; for, with punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be, therefore, a well-spring; it followeth, there is a supreme head of justice whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of pre-eminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but the King shall have it? Kings, therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

"If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal,

^d Or, "Nails fastened by some great Masters of Assemblies," &c. published by Nich. Bernard, D. D. London, 1661: It is a collection made by Archbishop Usher of tracts written by himself, Mr. Richard Hooker, Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Adrian Saravia, &c. with a preface by Bishop Sanderfon. This volume contains the Lord Primate's Original of Bishops and Metropolitans; wherein he proves from Scripture, as also from the most ancient writings and monuments of the church, that they owe their original to no less authority than that of the apostles; so that there never was any Christian church founded in the primitive times without bishops: which discourse was not then, nor perhaps ever will be, answered by those of a contrary judgment. (*See Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher*, p. 41.)

“nal, before which they shall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any.”——‘Here,’ says the doctor, ‘it breaks off abruptly.’

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips*, a man of note for his useful books:

“I will make oath if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson the late Bishop of Lincoln did, a little before his death, affirm to me he had seen a manuscript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the king or supreme governors being accountable to the people; this I will make oath that that good man attested to me. FABIAN PHILIPS.”

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued), gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, “that nothing of his, that was not already printed, should be printed after his death.”

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, as also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles†, that now is our gracious

T t 2

King;

* A barrister of some eminence in his profession, and noted for his loyalty. From his diligent search of records and papers deposited in the public offices, he obtained a most extensive knowledge of the history and antiquities of England. When the bill for taking away the tenures was depending in Parliament, he published a work highly valued by professional readers; “*Tenenda non Tollenda; or, the Necessity of preserving Tenures in Capite,*” &c. London, 1660. 4to.—He was also the author of “*Veritas Inconculsa; or, a most certain Truth asserted, that King Charles I. was no Man of Blood, but a Martyr for his People.*” He concludes this tract with the following extraordinary passage: “The Severn, Thames, Trent, and Humber, four of the greatest rivers of the kingdom, with all their lesser running streams of the island in their continual courses, and those huge heaps of water in the ocean and girdle of it, in their restless agitations, will never be able to scour and wash away the guilt and stain of it (the King’s death), though all the rains which the clouds shall ever bring forth and impart to this nation, and the tears of those that bewail the loss of a King of so eminent graces and perfection shall be added to it.”

† Dr. Gauden in his Dedication of Mr. Hooker’s Works to Charles II. thus addresses the King: “I shall need nothing more to ingratiate this incomparable piece to your Majesty’s acceptance

King; and you may suppose that this Charles I. was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because in a discourse with the Lord Say^s, when the said lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting him in one of the three written books), the King replied, "they were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books; but "however he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to what "his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful books, if he would "but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker, in the other five, that were "the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker, my purpose was to inquire, then set down what I observed and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself, but so as to leave others the same liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's. And it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books, so also, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer), of which this following letter may be a testimony; and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in the Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker; and is therefore added.

CON-

"ceptance, and all the English world's, than the high commendations it hath ever had from "your Majesty's royal father; who, a few days before he was crowned with martyrdom, "commended to his dearest children the diligent reading of Mr. Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Po- "lity,' even next the Bible; as an excellent means to settle them in the truth of religion, and "in the peace of the church, as much Christian and as well reformed as any under heaven: as "if God had reserved this signal honour to be done by the best of kings and greatest of suffer- "ers for this church, to him who was one of the best writers and ablest defenders of it."

^s A close and ambitious man, an enemy to the church of England, and desirous of its dissolution. His violent speech against bishops is inserted in "Nelson's Collections," &c. Vol. II. page 266; and that against Archbishop Laud, with the Archbishop's Answer in "Laud's "History of his Troubles," &c. page 470. Nathaniel Fiennes, his favourite son, was a most violent enemy to Episcopacy and monarchy, being one of those called *Root and Branch Men*. Though this nobleman was the principal fomenter of the civil war, and entertained the most extravagant ideas of civil liberty, he found himself so unhappy under the new government, that he retired voluntarily to the Isle of Lundy, and exerted himself in promoting the restoration of Charles II. He afterward received a reward much superior to his merit—the privy seal; the appointment to which gave great offence to many of the cavaliers.

CONCERNING

THE NEW CHURCH DISCIPLINE;

AN EXCELLENT LETTER,

WRITTEN BY MR. GEORGE CRANMER TO MR. R. H^a.

FEBRUARY MDXCVIII¹.

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning church-discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within a few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered that at first, the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way^b. The books then written for the most part favoured of the disciplinary style; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in the common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course, many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as being the better form of government, but as not so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby likely to grow. One man alone^c there was to speak of (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation), who, in the diffidence of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to their defence; which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries had otherwise been prevented.—

Wherein.

^a This letter is reprinted from the original edition in 1642.

¹ Anthony Wood tells us, that he was informed by Mr. Isaac Walton, that Mr. George Cranmer had written many other things besides this letter, but that they were kept private to the great prejudice of the public. (*Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 306.*)

^b Namely, the discipline established by Calvin in the church of Geneva.

^c Archbishop Whitgift.

Wherein God hath made good unto him his own emprefs, “ Vincit qui patitur :” for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness ; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly decayed ; their judgments begin to sway on the other side ; the learned have weighed it, and found it light ; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men’s opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth ; which is mightily and violently to possess men at first ; but afterward, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outside of a house the passers-by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within ; so, by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the forefront of this reformed house ; they have entered in, even at the special request of the master workmen and chief builders thereof : they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences ; they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived. So as now the discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

This cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice which the reformers^m have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about cap and surplice, but not such as either bred division in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government then established. This was peaceable ; the
next

^m The Presbyterian party who seemed at that time to take their only measure of truth from opposition to and distance from the church of Rome, thinking nothing good therein ; or, if there was, yet still to be rejected on account of what therein was evil.

next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment. In defence of them volumes were published in English, in Latin: Yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority; yet herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martinⁿ: in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed: 1. That whereas T. C.^o and others his great masters, had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God, he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a Vice upon the stage^p. 2. Which conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and desiered, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the state ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this, I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the bishops, and hoping that some good might be

ⁿ Mr. Hooker, when he is speaking "of the scurrilous and more than satirical immodesty, of Martinism," tells his reader that "the first published schedules thereof being brought to the hands of a grave and very honourable knight, with signification given, that the book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the title was, read over an unfavourie sentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this answer, 'I am forie you are of the mind to bee solaced with these sports, and forrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own.'" (*Hooker's Epist. Dedic. to Archbishop Whitgift.*)

^o Thomas Cartwright, the author and publisher of "The Admonition to the Parliament," printed in 1572, with the approbation and assistance of the whole party, and fully answered and confuted paragraph by paragraph by Dr. Whitgift in the same year.

^p Vice was the fool of the old moralities, with his dagger of lath, a long coat, and a cap with a pair of ass's ears. (*See Shakespear's Twelfth Night, Act IV. Sc. iv.*)

be wrought thereby for his church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low-degrees of contradiction at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they were at length proceeded, and were also likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was in fact: Certain prophets^a did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that undone which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and, seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means: and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that upon their preaching out of a pease-cart all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, "*Viri fratres, quid agimus?*" whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter; "Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down: such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced." Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration, yet so that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear what stirring affections the discipline is likely to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds. Now if any man doubt of what society they were, or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. *Whose associates were they before their entering into this frantic passion? Whose sermons did they frequent? Whom did they admire?* 2. Even when they were entering into it, *Whose advice did they require?* and, when they were in, *whose approbation? Whom advertised they of their purpose? Whose assistance by prayers did they request?* But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reprov'd and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were
were

^a William Hacket, Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington.

or were they rather content to stand aloof and see the end of it, and loath to quench the spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book¹.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof although their ancestors, the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists² and

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¹ Entitled "A Survey of the pretended holy Discipline; to which is prefixed a Sermon preached against the Puritans, at St Paul's Cross, Feb. 9, 1588-9, from the following Text: "Dearly beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God, for many false Prophets have gone out into the world. 1 John, iv. 1."

² Robert Brown, a person of a good family in Rutlandshire, educated at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, was the founder of a sect of Puritans, who took their name from him. He inveighed with the most bitter acrimony against the Church of England, condemning her government as Antichristian, her sacraments as superstitious, and her whole liturgy as a compound of Paganism and Popery. His own system of religious institution was explained by him in a book entitled "A Treatise of Reformation." He wrote several tracts in support of his opinions, and sustained various persecutions, having been committed at different times to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at broad-day. Before his removal with his followers to Middleburg in Zeeland, he became disgusted with their divisions and disputes; and though, according to Strype, he had gone a farther distance than any of the Puritans did, he renounced his principles of separation, being promoted by his relation, Lord Burghley, to a benefice, that of Achurch in Northamptonshire.——He is represented to have been unamiable in private life: And it is to be lamented that he always possessed a turbulent and unquiet disposition. He died in a prison, in 1630, in the 80th year of his age, having been sent thither by a justice of the peace for assaulting a constable, who was executing a warrant against him. (*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, B. IV. C. I. and Appendix, No. 45. *Of the Brownists*, see *Fuller's Church History*, B. IX. p. 168, and *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* Vol. IV. p. 98.)

It appears from a passage in Shakespear that the Brownists were treated as objects of satire: "Policy I hate; I had as lief be a *Brownist* as a politician." (*Twelfth Night*, A. III. Sc. II.) "Why now thou art a good knave, worth a hundred Brownists." (*The Puritan*, A. III. Sc. VI.)

and Barrowists^t have taken possession of them. For if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false. For upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand :

1. That because we have no church, they are to sever themselves from us.

2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own.

And if the former of these be true, the latter I suppose will follow. For if above all things, men be to regard their salvation ; and if out of the church there be no salvation, it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of salvation ; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary. As also, that men, so separated from the false and counterfeit church, are to associate themselves unto some church ; not to ours ; to the Popish much less ; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, that in our church there is no means of salvation, is out of the reformers' principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation ; but in the Church of England, the discipline, by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. Ergo.

Again (but this reason perhaps is weak), every true church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole gospel of Christ ; the discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the gospel, and yet by our church resisted. Ergo.

Again, the discipline is essentially united to the church : by which term, *essentially*, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any church. If, therefore, between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers ; it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, where-

with.

^t So denominated from Henry Barrow, a layman, and noted sectary, who suffered death for publishing seditious books against the Queen and the State. He derived his doctrine principally from Cartwright ; maintaining, among other things, that the church of England was not a true church ; that her ministers had no lawful calling ; and that the use of forms of prayer was blasphemous. (*Of this man and his opinions, see Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 58.—Kenet's History of England, Vol. II. p. 571.*)

with they might be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion (for all the premises are their own), or rather ingeniously to reverse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for ought I see) the most unanswerable. You may, notwithstanding, say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might so be salved, as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins; but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

Another sort of men there is, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who, perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of Episcopal, and erection of Presbyterian authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is τὸ ἴδιον, their pretence and colour reformation^u. Those things, which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches and bishops' livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil state more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, so as being possessed with dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought

U u 2

to

^u In the later editions the sentence is, "These men's ends in all their actions is distraction; "their pretence and colour reformation."

to disgrace the clergy in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and especially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted, to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there is, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them, namely, the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection; as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; *senseless preaching, and disgracing of the ministry*: for how should not men dare to impugn that which neither by force of reason nor by authority of persons is maintained: But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of Atheism: 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth.— They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part, but sinners; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing. Which humour of scoffing and turning matters most serious into merriment is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the prophet means by the *seat of scorners*, nor what the apostles by fore-telling of *scorners to come*; our own age hath verified their speech unto us. Which also may be an argument against these scoffers and Atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford; which could not be done by any other spirit save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, “Where is the pro-
“mise.”

“mife of his coming?” Againſt the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are ſaid to be taken; the ground whereof is ſuperfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A ſecond cauſe of Atheiſm is ſenſuality, which maketh men deſirous to remove all ſtops and impediments of their wicked life: among which becauſe religion is the chiefſt, ſo as neither in this life without ſhame they can perſiſt therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they ſee (if any ſuch be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion muſt needs be very great. They labour, therefore, not that they may not deſerve thoſe pains, but that, deſerving them, there may be no ſuch pains to ſeize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more baſe than that man ſhould ſtrive to perſuade himſelf even againſt the ſecret inſtinſt (no doubt) of his own mind, that his ſoul is as the ſoul of a beaſt, mortal, and corruptible with the body. Againſt which barbarous opinion their own Atheiſm is a very ſtrong argument: For were not the ſoul a nature ſeparable from the body, how could it enter into diſcourſe of things merely ſpiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the ſoul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, no not ſo much as to diſpute againſt heaven, and againſt God, if there were not in it ſomewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The laſt which have received ſtrength and encouragement from the reformers are Papiſts; againſt whom, although they are moſt bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather deſire than the breach and diſſenſion of thoſe which are confederates againſt him? wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papiſts in ſome few ceremonies do ſo much ſtrengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this diviſion and rent among ourſelves, eſpecially ſeeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and ſalvation. Which over-reaching ſpeech of their’s, becauſe it is ſo open to advantage both for the Barrowiſt and the Papiſt, we are to wiſh and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been ſpoken rather in heat of affection, than with ſoundneſs of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of diſcipline which
themſelves

themselves have bred, nourished and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did somewhat overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these:

1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two; *overthrow of Episcopal; erection of Presbyterial authority*. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of bishops not unlawful, and of elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things, therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves, are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose. For what if all errors by them supposed in our liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire; if non-residence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders, therefore, presently authorised? their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but, by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As, therefore, in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present: so, in all causes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or of innovation; and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, *Why, may not men speak against abuses?* Yes, but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most
part

part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also because it is unto the common people, judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective.— 3dly, Those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent: Some things, indeed, they accuse as impious; which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, *This must give place, because a better may be devised*: and in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in devise with those which are in practice; for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged), they do not see, that for the most part when they strike at the state ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the civil state. For personal faults, what can be said against the church, which may not also agree to the commonwealth? In both statesmen have always been, and will be always men, sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. As for abuses which they pretend to be in the laws themselves; when they inveigh against non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil state, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himself continually remaining in the south? *He that hath an office, let him attend his office.* When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of infinite, of temporal promotions? By the great philosopher, it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised*. When they

* Φαῦλον δ' αὖν δοξεῖν εἶναι καὶ το πλείους ἀρχὰς αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· ὅπερ ἰσδοκίμῃ παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδεσίοις, εἰ γὰρ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἀριστ' ἀποτελεῖται· διὸ δ' ὅπως γιγνέται τούτ' ὁρᾷ τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ μὴ προστάττειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν καὶ σκυτοτομῶν, ὥσθ' ὅπερ μὴ μικρὰ πόλις πολιτικώτερον πλείονας κατεῖχεν τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ δημοτικώτερον. κ. τ. λ.

(*Arist. de Republicâ, Lib. ii. c. 9. Edit. Heins.*)

they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of justice are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony? against the passover, as being ridiculous—shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

To conclude, you may exhort the clergy (or what if you direct your conclusion, not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in, or of both universities), you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand: for it oftentimes falleth out, what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know, of a minister to preach Christ crucified: in regard whereof not only wordly things, but even things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto, therefore, they are to be exhorted, to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but, passions being allayed, are vain and childish.

THIS

✓ A strange reading is found in all the subsequent editions: "Against the passover as being
" ridiculous; should be girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb."

THIS EPITAPH was long since presented to the world in memory of Mr. HOOKER, by Sir WILLIAM COWPER; who also built him a fair Monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father.

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious HOOKER; though this cost be spent
On him that hath a lasting monument
In his own books; yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church-ceremonies he maintained: then why,
Without all ceremony, should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to ask, why had he none?
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low
Doth now preferred to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise:
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man—"Friend, sit up higher."

W. C.

ERRATA.

- Page 206, line 24,—p. 530, says :—" Who, read p. 530.—" Who.
 — 215, — 29,—pontafle, read pantofle.
 — 226, — 27,—deacons, read persons.
 — 245, — 16,—feri, read ferie.
 — 255, — 26,—These words, "(or rather Zacharias,)" should have
 been inserted in a note.
 — 271, — 25,—graditus, read gradibus.
 — 280, — ult.—books, read his books.
 — 303, — pen.—of infinite, of temporal, read of the infinite of temporal.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

THE Works of Mr. Hooker, exclusive of the Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, the different editions of which are enumerated in a subsequent page, are,

I. "ANSWER to the SUPPLICATION that Mr. TRAVERS made to the COUNCIL. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

II. "A learned DISCOURSE of JUSTIFICATION, WORKS, and how the FOUNDATION of FAITH is overthrown: on *Habak.* i. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

III. "A learned SERMON of the NATURE of PRIDE: on *Habak.* ii. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

IV. "A REMEDY against SORROW and FEAR, delivered in a FUNERAL SERMON: on *John* xiv. 27. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

V. "A learned and comfortable SERMON of the CERTAINTY and PERPETUITY of FAITH in the ELECT: especially of the PROPHET HABAKKUK's FAITH: on *Habak.* i. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

VI. TWO SERMONS upon part of St. JUDE's EPISTLES. *Epist. Jude*, ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. *Oxon.* 1613." 4to.

These Sermons were originally published by Mr. Henry Jackson, with "Wickliff's Wicket," and afterward reprinted without that tract. What reception they met with from the public we learn from one of his letters preserved in Fulman's papers in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. "Edidi ante paucos dies tractatus quosdam D. Richardi Hookeri, qui omnium Applausu, excipio Puritanos ut vocant, ita excepti sunt, ut necesse jam sit typographo nostro novam Editionem parare, quæ primâ illâ emendatior meâ curâ, deo volente, profitura est. Cum itaque prodierit, expecta bina exemplaria una cum Wiclefi Tractatu, quem edidi eodem Tempore."

VIII. In 1641, a volume was published under the following title: "A SUMMARIE VIEW of the GOVERNMENT both of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT; whereby the EPISCOPALL GOVERNMENT of CHRIST's CHURCH is vindicated," out of therude draughts of Launcelot Andrews, late Bishop of Winchester.

To this volume is prefixed, as a preamble to the whole, "A DISCOVERY of the CAUSES of these CONTENTIONS touching CHURCH GOVERNMENT, out of the FRAGMENTS of RICHARD HOOKER."

This volume contains certain brief treatises, written by divers learned men, concerning the ancient and modern Government of the Church. The treatises are seven in number, of which this posthumous work of Mr. Hooker is one, and as it stands before the rest it is therefore called a Preamble to the whole.

IX. THREE TREATISES inserted in the "CLAVI TRABALES*" viz. 1. "On the KING's POWER in Matters of RELIGION." 2. "Of his POWER in the ADVANCEMENT of BISHOPS to their ROOMS of PRELACY." 3. "The KING EXEMPT from CENSURE, and other JUDICIAL POWER."

It will not be improper to notice a publication of great merit, entitled "A FAITHFUL ABRIDGMENT of the WORKS of that learned and judicious Divine, Mr. RICHARD HOOKER, in eight books of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, and of all the other Treatises which were written by the same Author. With an Account of his Life. By a Divine of the Church of England. London, 1705."

In "Fulman's Manuscript History of Corpus Christi College, Oxford," the time and birth of Mr. Hooker, with some other particulars relative to him, are ascertained.

"Richardus Hooker apud Heavy-tree juxta Civitatem Exoniam natus est circa finem Martii Mensis, Anno 1554 ineunte."

"He was admitted Scholar of C. C. C. Dec. 24, 1573, being twenty years old the Easter following; and admitted Probationer, Sept. 16, 1577, being 23 years old the Easter preceding."

• See page 506 of this work.

OF

OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF

The three last Books of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

THE writings of the learned and judicious Mr. Richard Hooker have so deservedly obtained the character of superior excellency, that it becomes a matter of no little consequence to distinguish his genuine works from any supposititious productions that have appeared in his name. Of the authenticity of the three last Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, much doubt has been entertained. As I am not inclined to hope that it is in my power to throw new light upon the subject, I shall merely suggest some few observations that obviously occur on a plain representation of the case:

The four first books of this celebrated work were first printed in 1594, and the fifth in 1597. While they were admired and applauded by wise and good men both at home and abroad, they gave great offence to that numerous band of puritanical writers, whose unrelenting zeal, in opposing our ecclesiastical establishment, uniformly displayed itself on all occasions. In fact this performance of Mr. Hooker soon engaged the attention of those writers. They treated him with much asperity in a tract entitled "A Christian Letter of certain English Protestants, unfained Favourers of the present State of Religion, authorised and professed in England, unto that reverend and learned man Mr. R. HOO. requiring resolution in certaine matters of doctrine (which seemed to overthrow the foundation of Christian Religion, and of the Church among us) expressedlie contained in his five books of Ecclesiasticall Policie. 1599." This tract is said to have given that wound to Mr. Hooker, "that it was not the least cause to procure his death." But, "it was far otherwise," according to Dr. Covell, who, with equal modesty and learning, has discussed all the positions advanced in *the Christian Letter*; "for he contemned it in his wisdom; and yet in his humilitie would have answered it, if he had lived."

It cannot be denied that Mr. Hooker completed eight books^b. The accomplishment of this work was the wish nearest to his heart. He had formed in his vastly comprehensive mind a noble and magnificent plan. Having lived to see that plan perfected, he died with complacency and contentment.

Many

^a See "A Just and Temperate Defence of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Policie, written by Mr. Richard Hooker, against an uncharitable Letter of certain English Protestants (as they tearme themselves), craving Resolution, &c. Written by William Covell, Doctor in Divinitie. London, 1603."

^b Of this circumstance Dr. Gauden seems not to be apprised. He tells us that they were esteemed aborigines, with such lineaments of their father's virtue and vigour in them, that they may be easily and justly owned for genuine, although perhaps they had not the last politure of their parent's head: Their strength shews them to be a legitimate progeny, however they may seem to want something of that beauty and lustre which always attended Mr. Hooker's consummation." (*Dr. Gauden's Life, &c. of Mr. Richard Hooker*, p. 14.)

Many circumstances contributed to excite a suspicion, that an attempt would be made to suppress or destroy his manuscripts. This appears from a Letter written by Dr. Launcelot Andrews, who was then Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, to Dr. Parry^c.

“ SALUTEM IN CHRISTO,

“ I cannot choose but write though you do not: I never failed since I last saw you, but
 “ dayly prayed for him till this very instant you sent this heavie news. I have hitherto prayed,
 “ *serva nobis hunc*: now must I, *da nobis alium*. Alas for our greate los! And when I say
 “ ours, though I meane yours and myne, yet much more the common: with the losse since
 “ they have of so greate a damage, the more sad wee neede to bewaile them and ourselves,
 “ who knowe his workes and his worth to be such, as behind him he hath not (that I knowe)
 “ left anie neere him. And whether I shall live to knowe anie neere him, I am in greate
 “ doubt, that I care not how manie and myself had redeemed his longer life to have done
 “ good in a better subject than he had in hand, though that were very good. Good brother,
 “ have a care to deal with his executrix or excutor, or (him that is like to have a greate
 “ stroke in it) his father indawe, that there be special care and regard for preserving such
 “ papers as he left, besides the three last books expected. By preserving I meane, that not
 “ only they be not embzelled, and come to nothing, but that they come not into greate
 “ hands, whoe will only have use of them *quatenus et quousque*, and suppress the rest, or un-
 “ happily all: but rather into the hands of some of them that unfeinedly wished him well,
 “ though of the meaner sort; who may upon good assurance (very good assurance) be trusted
 “ with them; for it is pitie they should admit anie limitation. Do this, and do it mature:
 “ it had bin more than time long since to have bin about it, if I had sooner knowne it. If
 “ my word or letter would doe anie good to Mr. Churchman, it should not want. But what
 “ cannot yourself or Mr. Sandys doe therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away; happie in that he
 “ shall gaine a weeke or two before he knowe of it. Almighty God comfort us over him!
 “ whose taking away I trust I shall no longer live, then with grief I remember; therefore with
 “ grief, becausewith inward and most just honour I ever honoured him since I knew him.

“ Your assured

“ Poore loving Friend,

At the Court, 7 Novr. 1600.

“ L. ANDREWES.

We learn from the Latin epitaph inscribed on the monument which was erected in 1631, to the memory of Mr. Hooker, above thirty years after his death, that the suspicion was not groundless, and that three books were actually wanting. “ *Scriptis, octo Libros Politicæ Ecclesiasticæ Anglicanæ, quorum tres desiderantur.*”

Within

“ From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, and inserted in the Oxford edition of Mr. Hooker’s works. Dr. Henry Parry, to whom this letter seems to have been addressed, was educated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1607, he was appointed Bishop of Gloucester, and in 1610, Bishop of Worcester. He was reputed by all of his time, an able divine, well read in the Fathers, a thorough-paced disputant, and so eloquent a preacher, that King James I. “ who did ken a man of merit as well as any prince in Christendom,” always professed he seldom heard a better.” See “ Wood’s Ath. Ox.” Vol. I. col. 416.”

Within four years after the death of this venerable man, the most strict and diligent inquiry was made after them without success. Anthony Wood announces the publication of all the eight books, with certain tracts and sermons, so early as in 1617. The titlepage of the edition of that year, on which he establishes his opinion, utters a glaring falsehood; the volume containing only five books; as well in this edition of 1617, as in the subsequent ones of 1621 and 1631. The compilers of "The General Dictionary," and of "The Biographia Britannica," relying on the authority of Wood, have fallen into the same error.— Without condescending to examine the contents of the volume, they very injuriously charge Dr. Gauden with ignorance or confidence, when he insinuates that the Seventh Book was first published in 1662.

The Sixth and Eight Books were printed at London in 1648, 4to, under the title of "The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie, the Sixth and Eight Books : By Richard Hooker. A work long expected, and now published according to the most authentique copies." In this edition it is asserted that they were compared with five copies extant, in different libraries; in the Bodleian Library, in that at Lambeth, and in those of Bishop Andrews, Archbishop Usher, and Lord Edward Conway. With regard to the degree of credit due to these copies, a profound silence is observed.

Fourteen years after, namely in 1662, the Seventh Book (touching Episcopacy, or the Primitive, Catholick, and Apostolick Government of the Church) said to be completed out of his own manuscripts, was published by Dr. Gauden, then Bishop of Exeter, along with Mr. Hooker's other works^d.

It seems reasonable to expect that the fullest and most convincing proofs should have been adduced to substantiate these books as authentic. A cautious editor, when he presents to the public light a choice and precious manuscript, that had long been buried in obscurity, will not content himself with mere assertions: He will endeavour to inform his readers when and where it was discovered: He will endeavour to establish its authority with all possible precision, so as to banish every doubt concerning its genuineness. On the present occasion nothing of this kind has been attempted. When asseverations are urged without any attendant arguments to confirm their validity, the mind is left to fluctuate in uncertainty and perplexedness. It is declared by Dr. Gauden, that "these three last books were never finished." The truth of this declaration is expressly contradicted, both by the above cited epitaph, and by Isaac Walton's narrative.

It is added, that "they had been *for many ages* suppressed." Was it not, therefore, highly requisite to advance some evidence of their originality after this long suppression; to ascertain the place where they had eluded all inquiry; to instruct us by what means they were brought from their dark abode? A treasure so inestimable, a deposit so dear to every good man, would surely have been preserved with the utmost fidelity and caution; and, when ushered into

^d Dr. Gauden published "Hooker's Works," in 1662, fol. A second edition, with "The Life of Mr. Hooker, by Isaac Walton," appeared in 1666, fol. A third in 1676, fol. A fourth in 1682, fol. A fifth in 1723, fol. And a sixth in 1793, printed at Oxford in three volumes, 8vo.

* See "Dr. Gauden's Life, &c. of Mr. Richard Hooker."

into the world, would have been accompanied with all the attestations necessary to enhance its worth.

He proceeds: "They are now come to light after our late long troubles, as some buried statues or hidden monuments are oft discovered by earthquakes." Are we to attribute the discovery of them, after a concealment for so extensive a period of time, to the distracted state of this country, amidst the horrors and confusions of a civil war? Yet what prevented their more early appearance? In the mild and peaceable reign of James I. when disquisitions on the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England were the subjects of general attention, the publication of them would have been peculiarly acceptable. And if their genuineness admitted no doubt, what causes can possibly be assigned for secreting them? If they remained in the possession of Mr. Hooker's friends, those friends would eagerly and without delay have consigned them to the press. If his enemies concealed them, it is scarce probable that from their hands they would emerge pure and uncontaminated^f.

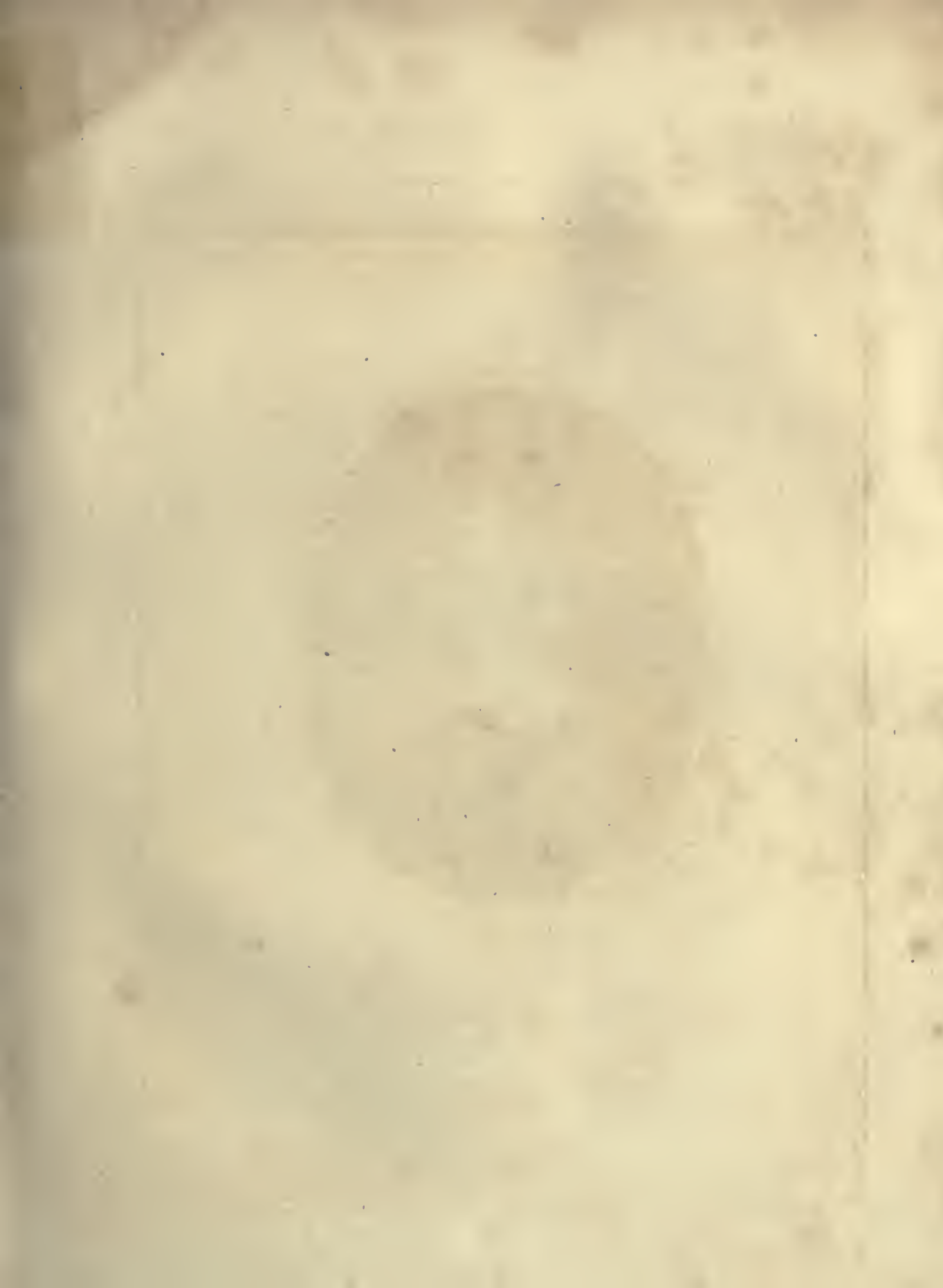
He adds further: "Each of them is by learned critics judged to be genuine or authentic." Who those learned critics are, or upon what grounds they founded their criticism, we are left to conjecture. King Charles I. by whom the very name of Mr. Hooker was held in the highest veneration, thought otherwise. In his interview with Lord Say, he expressly maintained that the Sixth and Eighth Books were not allowed to have been written by Mr. Hooker. And this opinion was probably the result of his discourses on the subject with those divines, in whose conversation he delighted, and who were perfectly competent to decide upon the matter, being men of great candour and known integrity of mind, neither deficient in inquisitiveness, nor liable to be deceived by artifice. And no recent testimony has been since adduced to enervate the evidence that arises from the king's assertion.

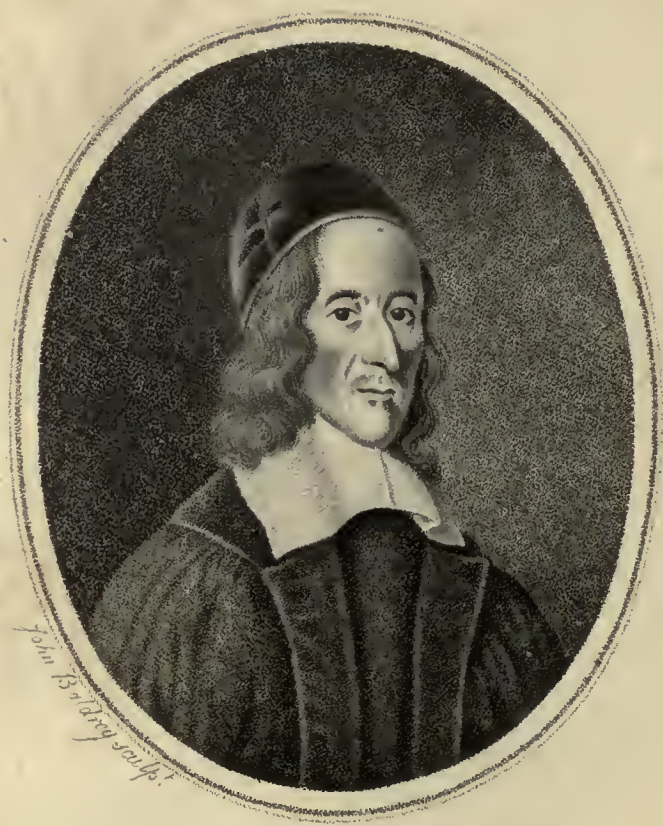
Of the authenticity of the Sixth Book no intelligence is communicated.

The Seventh Book is affirmed, "by comparing the writing of it with other indisputable papers or known manuscripts of Mr. Hooker, to be undoubtedly his own hand throughout." From this last positive declaration it may be deemed difficult to withhold assent. Our acquiescence in it would have been cheerfully given, if it had been supported by any corroborating arguments:—If we had been informed when these papers and known MSS. were deposited, and by whose nice discriminating eye the collation was made.

The

^f It is remarked of the puritanical writers of those times, that they were not ashamed "to sett forth supposititious pamphlets in favour of their cause, under the counterfeit names of other men of known piety and parts, whose former writings have been entertained with general approbation abroad in the world:" Their very names, they thought, would give some countenance to any cause which they could seem in any degree to own." "This," says Dr. Sanderfon, "is one of their *pia fraudes*, or godly cheats; a practice common to them with the Jesuits, as many other of their practices (ye and of their doctrines too) are. Such an unhappy fatal coincidence not seldom there is of extremes. Thus they dealt with the reverend Primate of Armagh, printing his name, and that in his life-time too (which was their modesty and tenderness of conscience), to two severall pamphlets, the one called 'Vox Hiberniæ,' and the other 'A Direction to the Parliament,' &c." See "Clavi Trabales," p. 151.





M^r. GEORGE HERBERT.

The Eight Book has no other mark of legitimacy upon it, has no other character to elucidate its origin, than the bare affirmation, that "it is written by another hand, as a copy, but interlined in many places with Mr. Hooker's own character, *as owned by him*."

Dr. John Spencer, President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, solicitous to preserve every document, every fragment of the writings of his friend, commissioned Mr. Henry Jackson^z, a fellow collegian, to form a transcript of all the papers which were left. This transcript was bequeathed by Dr. Spencer to Dr. John King, Bishop of London, on whose demise it devolved upon his son the Bishop of Chichester, by whom it was placed in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth. The dreadful devastation made of that library by Hugh Peters, and the other Goths and Vandals of the age, leaves us no reason to think, that the transcript, whatever it contained, escaped the general wreck. But there is no proof that it actually comprised the books in question. A particular description of it is given by Dr. Spencer himself in the advertisement prefixed to the sixth edition of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity. He assures us concerning these three last Books, that "some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as soon as they were born and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies, left unto us *nothing but certain old imperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces, and scattered, like Medea's Absirtus, no favour, no grace, not the shadows of themselves almost remaining in them*." If he ever arranged these papers with a view to publish them as the finished works of Mr. Hooker, he seems to have altered his design, from a decided conviction that they had no claim to be acknowledged in that light^h.

He intimates, in the advertisement above quoted, that there is a purpose of setting forth the three last Books also, their father's *posthumum*. It may be asked, what hindered this purpose? Nothing certainly, but an assurance that the papers found by Mr. Henry Jackson were in so mangled and mutilated a condition, that they could not appear without manifest injury to the reputation of their author. When it is remembered that Dr. Spencer survived Mr. Hooker fourteen years, we must conclude that his respect for the dignity of his friend's character deterred him from obtruding any work on the public which he did not consider as indisputably authentic.

x x

It

^z Mr. Henry Jackson, born in the city of Oxford, was admitted Probationary Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Sept. 5, 1612. He was a great admirer of Mr. Richard Hooker, and of Dr. John Reynolds; whose memories being most dear to him, he did for the sake of the first, industriously collect and publish some of his small treatises, and of the latter several of his epistles and orations. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 291.

^h We learn from a letter, written by Mr. Henry Jackson, and preserved in Fulman's papers, in the library of C. C. C. that Dr. Spencer actually intended to publish the Eight Book. "Puto præsidem nostrum emissurum sub suo Nomine D. Hookeri Librum octavum a *me plane vitæ restitutum*. Tuli alter honores." What pains were taken by Mr. Jackson to render this Eight Book as perfect as possible, and how doubtful he was whether it really deserved the public light, appears from another letter: "Si totus non essem *in poliendo libro octavo* D. Richardi Hooker de Ecclesiasticâ Politia, quem præses collegii nostri mihi commendavit, aliquid ad te misissem, ut tuum expiscarer judicium an lucem necne mereatur."

It has been already remarked, that a copy of the three last Books is said to have been placed in Archbishop Usher's library. If that learned and sagacious man had deemed the copy authentic, is it possible to suppose that he would have withheld it from the public eye? In fact, his anxiety to preserve and make known the genuine writings of Mr. Hooker, appears from the care with which he selected three short treatises written, with the hand of that excellent person, and published by Dr. Bernard, with the Primate's marginal notes, in the "Clavi Trabales: "Of gold," says Bishop Sanderson, in a preface to this publication; "*quævis bracteola* the very filings are precious; and our Blessed Saviour, when there was no want of provision, yet gave it in charge to his disciples, that the offall should not be lost."

Mr. Isaac Walton informs us, that the three perfect Books were lost, and that the wife of Mr. Hooker did not pay much attention to his memory after his death. She permitted Mr. Charke¹ and his companion to ransack his study. These two men, professedly hostile to the Church of England, burnt and tore many of his written papers, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen. Thus the invaluable treasure was irrecoverably gone, before Mr. Henry Jackson entered on his commission. Nothing remained for him but the reliques of their savage plunder. Yet Mr. Neale, in his "History of the Puritans," Vol. I. p. 571. asserts with his usual boldness, that "the three last Books were not published till many years after the author's death, *though they were deposited in the hands of Archbishop Abbot, from whose copy they were printed about the beginning of the civil wars.*" Not to remark the inaccuracy of his observation, for the Seventh Book first appeared in 1662, after the Restoration, we are led to infer from this assertion, that the three Books in their present state as corrected, revised, and prepared by Mr. Hooker for the press, were placed in the library at Lambeth, and there carefully preserved; when it is clear from the best authority, that of Dr. Spencer, that nothing was left but "certain old imperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces, and scattered like Medea's Absirtus."

The excellent Dr. Jeremy Taylor confirms the suspicion, that the three Books are not genuine. In the dedication of his celebrated work, entitled "Ductor Dubitantium," to King Charles II. He observes, that "those cases that concern the power, and offices of ecclesiastical Superiors and *Supreme*, were, though in another manner, long since done by the incomparable Mr. Hooker, in the Seventh and Eight Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, or the learned Archbishop of Spalato: but *their labours were unhappily lost, and never saw the light.*" He adds, "Though I cannot attain to the strength of these *champions* of David, yet since their portion of works is fallen into my hands, I have heartily endeavoured to supply their loss."

THE

¹ In the earlier editions of "Walton's Lives," the person who married Margaret, the youngest daughter of Mr. Hooker, is called *Charke*. This circumstance will admit an excuse for the error in the note at p. 287.

THE LIFE
OF
MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
AND
ZOOLOGY
OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
1871

THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
AND
ZOOLOGY
OF THE
CITY OF LONDON

THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
AND
ZOOLOGY
OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
1871

TO HIS VERY WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED FRIEND.

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

Upon his Excellent LIFE of

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I.

HEAV'NS youngest son, its Benjamin,
Divinity's next brother, -sacred Poesie,
No longer shall a virgin reckoned be
 (What ere with others 'tis) by me,
 A female muse, as were the nine;
 But (full of vigour masculine).
An essence male, with angels his companions shine.
With angels first the heavenly youth was bred,
And, when a child, instructed them to sing
The praises of th' Immortal King
 Who Lucifer in triumph led :.
For, as in chains the monster sank to hell;
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,
By him first taught, " How art thou fallen thou morning-
 star ?" they said,.
Too fondly then, we have fancy'd him a maid :
We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade ;
A female angel less would Urbin's* skill upbraid.

II.

Thus 'twas in heaven : this, Poesy's sex and age ;
And, when he thence t'our lower world came down,
He chose a form more like his own,

Y y

And

* Raphael Urbin, the famous painter.

And Jesse's youngest son inspir'd with holy rage,
 The sprightly shepherd felt unusual fire,
 And up he took his tuneful lyre;
 He took it up, and struck't, and his own soft touches did admire.
 Thou, Poesy, on him didst bestow
 Thy choicest gift, a honour shew'd before to none;
 And, to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,
 Gav'st him thy empire and dominion;
 The happy land of verse, where flow
 Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow;
 Wherewith thou didst adorn his brow,
 And mad'st his first, more flourishing, and triumphant crown.
 Assist me thy great prophet's praise to sing,
 David, the poet's, and blest'd Israel's king;
 And with the dancing echo, let the mountains ring!
 Then on the wings of some auspicious wind,
 Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high,
 And in the starry volume of the sky,
 A lasting record find:
 Be with his mighty psaltery join'd;
 Which, taken long since up into the air,
 And call'd the harp, makes a bright constellation there.

III.

Worthy it was to be translated hence,
 And there, in view of all, exalted hang:
 To which so oft the princely prophet sang,
 And mystic oracles did dispense.
 Though had it still remain'd below,
 More wonders of it we had seen,
 How great the mighty Herbert's skill had been;
 Herbert, who could so much without it do;
 Herbert, who did its chords distinctly know;
 More perfectly than any child of verse below.

Oh!

O! had we known him half so well!
 But then, my friend, there had been left for you
 Nothing so fair, and worthy praise to do;
 Who, so exactly all his story tell,
 That though he did not want his bays,
 Nor all the monuments virtue can raise,
 Your hand he did, to eternize his praise.
 Herbert and Donne again are join'd,
 Now here below, as they're above;
 These friends are in their old embraces twin'd;
 And since by you the interview's design'd,
 Too weak to part them death does prove;
 For in this book they meet again, as in one heav'n they love.

BENSTEAD, }
 April 3. }

SAM. WOODFORDE, D. D.

IN VITAM

GEORGI HERBERTI,

AB

ISAACO WALTONO SCRIPTAM.

O Quàm erubescō cum tuam vitam lego,
 Herberte Sancte, quamq; me pudet meæ!
 Ego talpa cæcus hic humi fodiens miser,
 Aquila volatu tu petens nubes tuo,
 Ego Choicum vas terreas fæces olens,
 Tu (sola namq; Urania tibi ex musis placet)
 Nil tale spiras; sed sapis cælum et Deum,
 Omniq; vitæ, libri et omni, lineâ;
 Templumq; tecum ubiq; circumfers tuum:
 Domi-porta cœli, cui domus propria, optima:
 Ubi Rex, ibi Roma, Imperii sedes; ubi
 Tu sancte vates, templum ibi, et cælum, et Deus.

Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis
 Speculum Sacerdotale, tu qualem piis
 Pastoris ideam et libro et vitâ tuâ
 Tu quale Sanctitatis elementis bonæ,
 Morumq; nobis tradis exemplum ac typum!
 Typum*, Magistro nempe proximum Tuo,
 Exemplar illud grande qui solus fuit.
 Canonizet ergò quos velit Dominus Papa;
 Sibi; sanctos, quos facit, fervet suos
 Colâtque; sancte Herberte, tu Sanctus meus;
 Ora; pro me, dicerem, si fas, tibi.
 Sed hos honores par nec est sanctis dari;
 Velis nec ipse; recolo te, sed non colo.
 Talis legenda est vita Sancti, concio
 Ad promovendum quàm potens et efficax!
 Per talia exempla est breve ad cœlos iter.
 Waltone, maîte, perge vitas scribere,
 Et penicillo, quo vales, insigni adhuc
 Sanctorum imagines coloribus suis
 Plures repræsentare; quod tu dum facis
 Vitamq; et illis et tibi das posthumam,
 Lectoris æternæq; vitæ consulis.
 Urge ergò pensum; et interim scias velim,
 Plutarchus alter sis licèt Biographus,
 Herberto, Amice, vix Parallelum dabis.
 Liceat Libro addere hanc coronidem tuo;
 Vir, an Poeta, Orator an melior fuit,
 Meliornè amicus, sponfus, an Pastor Gregis,
 Herbertus, incertum; et quis hoc facilè sciat,
 Melior ubi ille, qui fuit ubiq; optimus.

JACOB DUPORT, S. T. P.

Decanus Petr.

* Sic Christum solens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fecit.

THE INTRODUCTION.

IN a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story, and more particularly of what had past betwixt our Blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possessed with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed to charm and insnare amorous beholders: But, I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensuality; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wip't, and she most passionately kiss the feet of hers, and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that, beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his gospel should be read; intending thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more^a.

Upon

^a If some very learned and able commentators have entertained an opinion, that Mary Magdalen was the afflicted and penitent sinner mentioned in the seventh chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, it is not surprising that Mr. Walton should fall into the same error.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself) that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives: And though Mr. George Herbert (whose Life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him; yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths, without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my reader.

THE

THE LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county^b; that castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possessed it; and, with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been blessed with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent: But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert^c, the son of Edward Herbert

^b The castle of Montgomery derived its name from Roger^d de Montgomery, a noble Norman, Earl of Shrewsbury, who, winning much land from the Welsh, first built this castle to secure his conquest. It standeth not far from the banks of the river Severn, upon the rising of a rock, from whence it hath a very free prospect into a pleasant plain that lieth beneath it.—The family of the Herberts is very much diffused, and of great authority in this part of Wales. (*Heylin's Help to English History.*)—An order was made by the Parliament, June 11, 1649, for demolishing Montgomery Castle, which Anthony Wood calls “a pleasant and romancy place,” and for an allowance to the Lord Herbert for his damage thereby.

^c Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury describes Richard Herbert his father to have been “black haired and bearded, as all his ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withall very handsome and well compact in his limbs, and of a great courage. As for his integrity in his places of Deputy Lieutenant of the county, Justice of the Peace, and Custos Rotulorum, which he, as his father before him, held, it is so memorable to this day that it was said his enemies appealed to him for justice, which they always found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed in History.” (*The Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself.* Strawberry-Hill, 1764. p. 34.)

Herbert, Knight, the son of Richard Herbert, Knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert^d of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward IV.

His mother was Magdalen Newport^e, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majesty's Household^f. A family that for their loyalty have suffered

^d This gentleman was ancestor to the Lords Herbert of Cherbury, and to the present Earl of Powis. In the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, this Sir Richard Herbert signalized himself by his bravery on many occasions. He and his brother William, the first Earl of Pembroke, were taken prisoners after the battle of Danesmore, near Edgemoor in Northamptonshire, on July 26, 1469, and were beheaded the next day after the battle. Hall, in his Chronicle, relates, "that much lamentation, and no less intreaty, was made to save the life of Sir Richard Herbert, both for his goodly personage, which excelled all men there, and also for the noble chivalry he had shewed in the field in the day of battle, inasmuch that his brother the Earl, when he laid down his head on the block to suffer, said to Sir John Conyers, *Let me die, for I am old, but save my brother, who is young, lusty, and hardy, mete and apt to serve the greatest prince of Christendom.*" See "Collins's Peerage," Vol. V. p. 181.—The title of Banneret was a very ancient title of military honour, never conferred but upon the achievement of some great and noble action in the field. Knights Bannerets are termed by Matthew Paris, "*Milites vexilliferi*," and were distinguished by having a square shield, and bearing their arms in a banner of the same form.

^e "My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Burnley, one of the Privy Councill, and executor to King Henry VIII. who, surviving her husband, gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God, and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily, both private and public, prayers, and so careful to provide for her posterity, that though it were in her power to give her estate, which was very great to whom she would, yet she continued still unmarried, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly with her husband. She after his death erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery Church, brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courses for making their fortunes; and briefly was that woman Dr. Donne hath described her, in his funeral sermon of her printed." (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 10, 11.)

^f Charles I. in 1642, advanced Sir Richard Newport to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Newport, of High Ercall in Shropshire. On this occasion that loyal gentleman

suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, and wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons, and three daughters, which she would often say, was *Job's number*, and *Job's distribution*; and, as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward^s, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being installed Knight of the Garter; and

ZZ

after

he presented his Majesty with the sum of six thousand pounds. (*Echard's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 348.*)—Dying Feb. 8, 1650, at Moulins in France, he was succeeded by Francis his son, who after the restoration was made Comptroller, and then Treasurer of the King's Household, Viscount Newport 27 Cha. II. and Earl of Bradford, in 1694. The last title became extinct in 1762.

^s No character is more heterogeneous than that of this nobleman, not less renowned for his prowess and martial gallantry, than for his literary acquirements. Ben Jonson styles him

“ All-virtuous Herbert, in whose every part

“ Truth might spend all her voice, Fame all her art.”

He is classed among the most eminent of the Deistical writers, having attempted to reduce Deism into a regular system; and, by asserting the sufficiency, universality, and absolute perfection of natural religion, to discard all revealed religion as useless. It is unnecessary to add that his opinions have been discussed with great ability, moderation, and candour, by Dr. Leland, in his “Review of the Deistical Writers.”

He has given the following account of himself in the earlier period of his life: “It was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I should be ever dumb: The very farthest thing I remember is, that, when I understood what was said by others, I did yet forbear to speak, lest I should utter something that was imperfect or impertinent. When I came to talk, one of the farthest inquiries was, how I came into this world.” (*Life of Lord Herbert, p. 16.*)—“At twelve years old, my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford, to University College, where I remember to have disputed, at my first coming, in logic.” (*Ib. p. 25.*) His father died; he left Oxford, married, and afterward returned to the university.—

“ Not

after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent ambassador resident to the then French king, Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years; but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court: so that, upon a complaint to our king, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the duke, and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I. who made him first Baron of Castle-Island; and not long after of Cherbury, in the county of Salop: He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book "De Veritate;" and by his "History of the Reign of King Henry VIII." and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard^b and Williamⁱ, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died

"Not long after my marriage, I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house, and lived for some certain time there." - (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 26.)— And now he followed his book more close than ever; in which course he continued till he had attained about the age of eighteen, when his mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle he passed his time till he came to the age of one and twenty. At the request of his mother, he undertook the burden of providing for his brothers and sisters, giving to his brothers thirty pounds a piece yearly, and to his three sisters 1000l. a piece; which portions married them.

^b "My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with much reputation both in the wars, and for fighting single duels, which were many, in so much that between both he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four and twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lieth buried in "Bergenopzoom." (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 12.)

ⁱ "My brother William, being likewise brought up in learning, went afterward to the wars in Denmark, where fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself with that piece which remained, but closing with his adversary threw him down, and so held him until company came in; and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after." (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 12.)

died officers in that employment. Charles^k was the fourth, and died fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry^l was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years ; during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blessed him.

Z z 2

The

* “ My brother Charles was fellow of New College in Oxford, where he died young, after “ he had given great hopes of himself every way.” (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 12.)——Mr. Charles Herbert was the fellow collegian and friend of Dr. Richard Zouch, to whose poem entitled the “ The Dove,” he has prefixed Latin verses. We also observe his name subscribed to some lines addressed to his virtuous kinsman, Thomas Herbert, Esq. on the publication of that gentleman’s “ Travels into divers Parts of Asia and Afriq.”

¹ “ Henry, after he had been brought up in learning, as the other brothers were, was sent “ by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection, after which time he came to court, and was made Gentleman of the King’s Privy Chamber, and Master of the Revels; by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes for himself and posterity to enjoy : He also hath given several proofs “ of his courage in duels and otherwise, being no less dextrous in the ways of the court, as “ having got much by it.” (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 15.)

Mr. Richard Baxter, who was educated at High Ercall, was in his early youth recommended to the care of Sir Henry Herbert, and by him kindly received. But that celebrated Nonconformist did not relish a court life, and very soon returned to his privacy and studies. “ I went “ up,” says he, “ stayed at Whitehall with Sir H. H. about a month, but I had quickly enough “ of the court, when I saw a stage-play, instead of a sermon, on the Lord’s days in the afternoon, and saw what course was there in fashion, and heard little preaching but what was as “ to one part against the Puritans : I was glad to be gone.” (*Reliq. Baxter*. p. 11.)

It was within the department of the Master of the Revels to license the press, and accordingly we find many books printed at this time, with an imprimatur “ granted by Henry Herbert.”

The following story is related of him : “ A few days before the murder of the king, meeting “ in Hyde Park with Thomas Herbert, Esq. his kinsman, who then waited on his Majesty “ as one of the grooms of his bed-chamber, and inquiring how his Majesty did, he desired he “ would let him know, that if he pleased to read the second chapter of Ecclesiasticus, he would “ there find comfort. Accordingly Mr. Herbert acquainted the King, who thanked Sir Henry, “ and commended his excellent parts; being a good scholar, soldier, and an accomplished courtier, and for his many years’ faithful service much valued by the King, who presently turned “ to the chapter, and read it with much satisfaction.” (*Collins’s Peerage*, Vol. V. p. 198.)

The seventh son was Thomas^m, who, being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansellⁿ was sent against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters^o I need not say

^m Lord Herbert of Chierbury, having related many glorious and gallant exploits of his brother Thomas, thus concludes his account of him: "After all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command, but finding himself, as he thought, undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him, in which fullen humour having lived many years he died, and was buried in London, in St. Martin's, near Charing Cross." (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 15.)

ⁿ At the instance of Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, Sir Robert Mansell, Vice-Admiral of England, was sent in 1620, with a fleet for the Mediterranean, with a view to humble the Algerine pirates, who infested the Spanish coasts. Captain Thomas Herbert had then the command of the Marmaduke, a merchant ship, of fifty men and twelve guns. (*Leidiard's Naval History*, Vol. II. p. 45.)—Sir Robert in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, dated from aboard the Lyon, in Alegant road, informs his Grace of the event of this expedition against the Algerines, and names Captain Giles and Captain Herbert as very active in assisting him. (*Catala*, p. 323.)

^o "Elizabeth, my eldest sister, was married to Sir Henry Jones, who by her had one son and two daughters: The latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London." (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 15.)

"Margaret was married to John Vaughan son and heir to Owen Vaughan, of Lluydart, by which match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeased and reconciled." (*Ib.* p. 15.)

"Frances, my youngest sister, was married to Sir John Brown, Knight, in Lincolnshire, who had by her divers children, the eldest of whom, though young, fought divers duels; in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancashire." (*Ib.* p. 16.)

To Elizabeth, his eldest sister, was written the following affectionate letter by Mr. George Herbert:

"FOR MY DEAR SICK SISTER..

" MOST DEAR SISTER,

" Think not my silence forgetfulness, or that my love is as dumb as my papers; though business may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you: and, which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness, that becomes your griefs and my love. God, who knows and sees this

say more, than that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George^p, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family (for she was then a widow), where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale^q, who was then Dean of Westminster, and

“ this writing, knows also that my soliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you;

“ judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value

“ Your most truly,

“ Most heartily,

“ Affectionate brother and servant,

“ DECEM. 6, 1620, TRIN. COL.

“ GEORGE HERBERT.”

^p “ My brother George was so excellent a scholar, that he was made the public orator of the university in Cambridge, some of whose English works are extant; which, though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue, and all divine and human literature: His life was most holy and exemplary, inasmuch that about Salisbury where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little less than sainted. He was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but, that excepted, without reproach in his actions.” (*Life of Lord Herbert*, p. 12, 13.)

^q It has been said of Dr. Richard Neale, that no one was more thoroughly acquainted with the distresses as well as the conveniences of the clergy, having served the Church as schoolmaster, curate, vicar, rector, Master of the Savoy, Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet to James I. and Charles I. Bishop of Rochester, Litchfield, Durham, Winchester, and Archbishop of York. To the Church and churchmen he was very serviceable by opposing the sectaries in their pursuits for ecclesiastical preferment, which they indefatigably hunted after, and thereby he drew on himself their general hatred. Prynne and Burton honoured him with the appellation of “ a Popish Arminian Prelate,” and omitted no opportunity of shewing their inveteracy against him. “ He died,” says Echard, “ full of years as he was full of honours; “ a faithful subject to his prince, an indulgent father to his clergy, a bountiful patron to his chaplains, and a true friend to all that relied upon him.”

and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland^r, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a king's scholar) he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother, well-knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil^s, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and
Master

^r He was made Master of Westminster School in 1599, and continued so to 1610. Hacket, afterward Bishop of Litchfield, was elected from Westminster School at the same time with Mr. George Herbert into Trinity College. When they left school, Mr. Ireland told them, "That he expected to have credit by them two at the university, or would never hope for it afterwards while he lived." (*Dr. Plume's Account of the Life and Death of Bishop Hacket.*)

^s Thomas Nevil, D. D. eminent for the splendour of his birth, his extraordinary piety and learning, was educated at Pembroke Hall in the university of Cambridge. In 1582 he was admitted Master of Magdalen College in the same university, and in 1593 he succeeded Dr. John Still in the Mastership of Trinity College, being then dean of the cathedral church of Peterborough, over which he presided commendably eight years. "Of the College of the Holy and undivided Trinity, now not only famous in that university, but in all Europe, which was decayed and near falling, and through age incoherent and irregular, he was the moderator, the enlarger, and most happy restorer; by his advice, favour, and liberal gift of money, the ill-disposed buildings were taken down and rebuilt in a more elegant form, the ways and ancient areas made regular and enlarged by new and excellent embellishments and ornaments, and brought to the remarkable beauty it now bears." (*From a MS. extant in Trinity College, and called NEVIL.*)—Upon the demise of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Nevil, who had been promoted to the deanery of Canterbury in 1597, was sent by Archbishop Whitgift to King James into Scotland, in the names of the bishops and clergy of England, to tender their bounden duties, and to understand his Highness's pleasure for the ordering and guiding of the clergy. The dean brought a most gracious answer of his Highness's purpose, which was to uphold and maintain the government of the late Queen, as she left it settled. Of Dr. Nevil see "Todd's Deans of Canterbury," p. 66, 83.

Master of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor ; which he did most gladly undertake ; for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them ; I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years : I am next to tell that she continued twelve years a widow ; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman^t, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning and other education as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did at his being of a fit age remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford ; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care ; yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily : but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child, but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother ; which was to her great content : for she would often say, “ That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to “ the meat on which we feed ; so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by “ the example or conversation with wicked company : ” and would therefore as often say, “ That ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue ; and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning.” For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years ;

^t Sir John Danvers.

years ; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that university ; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's London ; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind : Of the first he says,

No spring nor summer beauty has such grace
As I have seen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he says,

In all her words to every hearer fit,
You may at revels, or at council sit^u.

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of "The Autumnal Beauty." For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls ; but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues ; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias^x ; whom, in his letters, he calls his *Saint*, or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula ; whose affection to her was such that

^u " Here dwells he, [Love] though he sojourns every where
" In progress, yet his standing house is here ;
" Here, where still evening is, not noon nor night,
" Where no voluptuousness, yet all delight,
" In all her words unto all hearers fit,
" You may at revels, you at councils sit."

(*Donne's Poems. The AUTUMNAL, v. 20.*)

^x Of the character of Olympias, an accomplished woman, and much esteemed by St. Chrysostom, who delighted in her conversation, and wrote no less than seventeen letters to her in the time of his banishment, see "Cave's Lives of the Fathers," Vol. II. p. 503.

that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph⁷; *wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity*. And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before he entered into sacred orders); a time when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family: And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

“ MADAM,

“ YOUR favours to me are every where; I use them, and have them.
 “ I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet find them at Mi-
 “ cham. Such riddles as these become things inexpressible; and such is
 “ your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day,
 “ because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last
 “ night, and indeed of my coming this morning: But my not coming was
 “ excusable, because earnest business detained me; and my coming this
 “ day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon
 “ Sunday, to seek that which she loved most; and so did I. And, from
 “ her and myself, I return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe
 “ all the good opinion, that they whom we need most have of us. By
 3 A “ this

⁷ St. Jerom thus begins a long epistle, which he addresses to Eustochium, the daughter of Paula, on whose life and death he expatiates largely: “ Si cuncta corporis mei verba vertentur in linguas et omnes artus humanâ voce resonarent, nihil dignum sanctæ ac venerabilis Paulæ virtutibus dicerem. Nobilis genere, sed multo nobilior sanctitate, potens quondam divitiis, sed nunc Christi paupertate insignior, Gracchorum stirps, soboles Scipionum, Pauli hæres.” Much encomium will scarce be thought due to the epithet on Paula (for which see “ Hieronymi Opera,” Tom. I. p. 69. and also “ Sandys’s Travels,” p. 139, 140.); and it may be a matter of doubt whether the conduct of that lady dividing her effects among her children, abandoning her family, and, under the pretence of devotion, wandering from place to place, can entitle her to any great share of praise.

“ this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy hymns
 “ and sonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped
 “ the fire), to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them
 “ worthy of it; and I have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to
 “ your happy hand.

“ Your unworthiest servant,

“ Unless your accepting him to be so

“ Have mended him,

MICHAM, JULY 11, 1607.

“ JO. DONNE.”

TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT; OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance
 Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo;
 An active faith so highly did advance,
 That she once knew more than the Church did know,
 The resurrection; so much good there is
 Deliver'd of her, that some fathers be
 Loth to believe one woman could do this;
 But think these Magdalens were two or three.
 Increase their number, Lady, and their fame;
 To their devotion, add your innocence;
 Take so much of th' example as of the name;
 The latter half; and in some recompence
 That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,
 Harbour these hymns, to his dear name address.

J. D.

These hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such, as they
 two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship, and the many
 sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many
 of their letters in my hand) and much more might be said of her great
 prudence and piety; but my design was not to write her's, but the Life of
 her

her Son; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon, in the parish-church of Chelsey, near London; where she now rests in her quiet grave; and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

— “ But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say, the muses use to take up their habitations. However I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear mother) is in these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory; and I beg you to receive this as one testimony.”

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
Besides their other flames? Doth poetry
Wear Venus livery? only serve her turn?
Why are not sonnets made of thee? and layes
Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
As well as any she? Cannot thy dove
Out-strip their Cupid easily in flight?
Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,
Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name?
Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
Than that, which one day worms may chance refuse.

Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
 Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
 Cover the earth; so doth thy majesty:
 Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid
 Poets to turn it to another use.
 Roses and lilies speak thee; and to make
 A pair of cheeks of them is thy abuse.
 Why should I women's eyes for crystal take?
 Such poor invention burns in their low mind
 Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
 To praise and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
 Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
 In the best face but filth; when, Lord, in thee
 The beauty lies, in the discovery.

G. H.

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother; about which time, he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seem'd to be mark'd out for virtue, and to become the care of heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the College, March 15, 1615²: And that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during
 all

² It appears from the Bursar's books of Trinity College, that Mr. Herbert was elected a scholar of the house, May 5, 1609; Minor Fellow, Oct. 3, 1614; and Major Fellow, March 15, 1615. He was matriculated, Dec. 18, 1609, by the name of Georgius Harbert, the first among the pensioners of Trinity College; became B. A. in 1612; M. A. in 1616; and on the 21st of October, 1619, was substituted to the office of Orator in the absence of Sir Francis Netherfole, Knight, then abroad on the king's business. (*From the Grace Book of the University of Cambridge.*)

all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above the earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of heaven before he possessed them." And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company, by which he confirmed his native gentleness; and, if during this time he expressed any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage^a.

This may be some account of his disposition and of the employment of his time, till he was Master of Arts, which was anno 1615; and in the year 1619 he was chosen Orator^b for the University. His two precedent Orators,

^a This is a true picture of a young academician, whom vanity incites to affix too great a value on the splendour of birth, and the frivolous distinctions of hereditary rank. At this time Mr. Herbert's pecuniary resources were not very plentiful. In a letter dated March 18, 1617, he writes; "I protest and vow I even study thrift, and yet I am scarce able, with much ado, to make one half-year's allowance shake the hands with the other."

He seems to have been prodigiously fond of fine clothes; for his biographer tells us afterward, that "he enjoyed his gentile humour for fine clothes and court-like company." And it appears that he did not change "his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat," till four years after he was Prebendary of Lincoln. If his taste in this respect had been doubted, he might have answered as Autolicus did to the simple Shepherd.—

"*Shep.* Are you a courtier, an like you, Sir?

"*Aut.* Whether it like me, or no, I am a courtier. Seest thou not the air of a court in these enfoldings? hath not my gaite in it the measure of the court?"

Shakespeare's Winter's Tale, Act IV. Scene XI.

^b Of the office of Orator, which still continues the most honourable academical employment, Mr. Herbert has given the best description in a letter to a friend. "The Orator's place, that you may understand what it is, is the finest place in the university, though not the gainfullest, yet that will be about 30l. per annum: But the commodiousness is beyond the
"revenue,

Orators were Sir Robert Nanton^c and Sir Francis Netherfole^d: The first was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis, not very long after

“ revcnue, for the Orator writes all the univerſity letters, makes all the orations, be it to the
 “ king, prince, or whatever comes to the univerſity. To requite theſe pains, he takes place
 “ next the Doctors, is at all their aſſemblies and meetings, and ſits above the Proctors; is
 “ Regent or Non-regent at his pleaſure, and ſuch like gayneſſes which will pleaſe a young
 “ man well.”

^c “ Robertus Naunton, Diſcipulus, Maii 2, 1582. Soc. Minor, Oct. 2, 1585. Soc. Major, Mar. 15, 1586.” (*Burſar's Books at Trin. Coll.*) Sir Robert Naunton, a native of Suffolk, was deſcended from a very ancient family in that county. He was tranſplanted from Trinity College to Trinity Hall, where he was choſen Fellow. He was the author of “ Fragmenta “ Regalia, or Obſervations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites,” a tract uſually printed along with “ Arcana Aulica; or Walsingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims for the Stateſman and Courtier;” the one being a compendium of politics for the ordering of a court life, the other a judicious collection of great examples that have acted in conformity to thoſe precepts, and made themſelves famous to poſterity in their reſpective ſtations. He improved the opportunity of recommending himſelf to James I. at Hinchinbrook, where the Univerſity met his Maſteſty on his firſt arrival from Scotland. The King was ſo well pleaſed with his eloquence and learning, that he firſt appointed him Secretary of State, and then Maſter of the Wards. Mr. Howell, in one of his letters, relates of him, that while he attended on the Earl of Rutland, as Ambaſſador to Denmark, he was appointed to deliver a Latin oration before the King. At the beginning of his ſpeech, when he had pronounced *Sereniſſime Rex*, he was daſhed out of countenance, and ſo gravelled, that he could go no farther.

^d Franciſcus Netherfole, Diſcipulus, Ap. 12, 1605. Soc. Minor, Sep. 18, 1608. Soc. Major, Mar. 23, 1609. (*Burſar's Books of Trinity College.*) This gentleman, born at Netherfole, in the county of Kent, was preferred to be Ambaſſador to the Princes of the Union, and Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. It is hard to ſay, whether he was more remarkable for his *doings* or *sufferings* on her behalf. He married Lucy, eldeſt daughter of Sir Henry Goodyear, of Poleſworth in Warwickſhire, by whoſe encouragement, being free of himſelf to any good deſign, he founded and endowed a very fair ſchool at Poleſworth aforeſaid. (*Sir William Dugdale's Hiſt. of Warwickſhire.*)

James I. paid a viſit to the Univerſity of Cambridge, in March 1614-15. When “ Hee paſſed into Trinity College, where all the houſe ranked on each ſide the entrance, he was preſented with a ſhort oration by the Orator of the Univerſity, Mr. Francis Netherfole, Fellow of the ſaid college, kneeling all the while on his knees, the which his Maſteſty graciouſly
 accepted

after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator, our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or since his time. For, "He had acquired great learning, and was "blest with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance, "both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen." Of all which, there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of Orator was manifested in a letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that University his book, called "*Basilicon Doron*"; and their

accepted." (*From a MS. in the possession of Mr. Todd, author of "The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury."*) He was blamed at the time of the royal visit, "for calling the Prince *Jacobissime Carole*; and some will add, that he called him *Jacobale* too, which neither pleased the king nor any body else." To this circumstance is an allusion in a song written at that time.

"Most Jacob Charles," did Cambridge cry, "you welcome are to us."
"An Oxford boy," &c.

Yet, notwithstanding this censure, the classical reader will be much pleased with the perusal of a funeral oration, spoken by Sir Francis Netherfole before the Vice-chancellor and the University, to the memory of Henry Prince of Wales. It is inserted in Bates's "*Vitæ selectorum aliquot Virorum*."

* Or "His Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son Henry the Prince," 1599. It has been considered as the best of the King's works, and in the opinion of Lord Bacon is excellently written. (*Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 223, 118.*) "In this book," says Mr. Camden, "is "most elegantly portrayed and set forth the pattern of a most excellent, every way accomplished, king. Incredible it is how many men's hearts and affections he won unto him by "his correcting of it, and what an expectation of himself he raised amongst all men even to "admiration." And Archbishop Spotswood observes, that it is said to have contributed more to facilitate the King's accession to the throne of England, than all the discourses published by other writers in his favour.

The famous *Andrew Melvin*, or rather *Melville*, having obtained a copy of the "*Doron Basilicon*" in manuscript, thought some passages so very exceptionable, that he directed several copies to be circulated in different parts of Scotland. In consequence of this, a libel was drawn up

their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension, at the close of which letter he writ,

“ Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes !
 “ Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.”

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King, that he inquired the orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was, “ That he knew him very well, and that he was his “ kinsman; but he lov'd him more for his learning and virtue, than for “ that he was of his name and family.” At which answer, the King smiled, and asked the Earl leave, “ That he might love him too; for he “ took him to be the jewel of that university.”

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was with them, to shew also his great affection to that church in which he received his baptism, and of which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a minister of the
 Scotch

up against the work and laid before the Synod of St Andrew's, by a minister of the kirk. To vindicate himself, James caused it to be published in 1599.

It may not be improper here to mention an instance of courtly address noticed by Bishop Hacket in his “ Life of Archbishop Williams,” p. 175. Having remarked that the King, on opening the Parliament in 1623, feasted the two houses with a *speech, than which nothing could be apter for the subject, or more eloquent for the matter*; he adds, “ All the helps of that faculty “ were extremely perfect in him, abounding in wit by nature, in art by education, in wisdom “ by experience. Mr. George Herbert, being Prælector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridge, anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens “ and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which he analysed, shewed “ the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move “ the affections, the style *utterly unknown to the ancients*, who could not conceive what kingly “ eloquence was; in respect of which those noted demagogi were but hirelings, and triobulary “ rhetoricians.”

Let it not be forgotten that Mr. Herbert was then a very young man, flushed with hopes of obtaining promotion in a court, where all the blandishments of adulation were practised.—Time, experience, and serious contemplation, effectuated a change in his mind, and totally alienated him from every ambitious pursuit.

Scotch Church, and rector of St. Andrews, who, by a long and constant converse, with a discontented part of that clergy which opposed Episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to King James, when he was but King of that nation, who, the second year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the bishops and other learned divines of his church, to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: Of which Scotch party, Andrew Melvin was one^f; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church-government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflection on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.

But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court Conference, he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the King, and others at this conference, lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrews, and his liberty too: For his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella, an innocent prisoner there^g; and he pleased himself much in sending the next day

3 B

after

^f Andrew Melville was not present at the celebrated conference held at Hampton Court, in the first year of King James I. upon the complaint of the Puritans against the ceremonies and the liturgy of the Church of England. He was summoned to appear before the King and Council in 1604. In the first edition of "Mr. Walton's Life of Mr George Herbert," Melville is described to be "*Master of a great wit; a wit full of knots and clenches; a wit sharp and satirical; exceeded, I think, by none of that nation, but their Buchanan.*"

^g This unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Earl of Lenox, the younger brother of Henry Darnley, the King's father, died in prison, Sept. 27th, 1615, and was interred at Westminster, without any funeral pomp, in the night, in the same vault wherein Mary Queen

after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady; which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these—

“Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Ara-
“Bella, tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.”

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verses were thought
fo

Queen of Scots and Prince Henry were buried. The following epitaph was written upon her by Bishop Corbet. She is supposed to be the speaker.

“How do I thank thee, Death, and blest thy power,
“That I have pass'd the guard and 'scap'd the Tower!
“And now my pardon is my epitaph,
“And a small coffin my poor carcase hath.
“For at thy charge both soul and body were
“Enlarg'd at last, secure from hope and fear.
“That among saints, this among kings is laid,
“And what my birth did claim my death has paid.”

Owen the epigrammatist dedicates a Book of Epigrams to this lady, whom he styles “*ex-cellentissimam et doctissimam heroinam*.”

“Regia progenies, genere illustrissima virgo,
“Nec minus ingenio nobilitante genus.
“Ingenii fructus tibi fert effertq; secundos
“Primitias Dominae qui dedit ante suæ,
“Seq; tibi tanquam *bellâ* virtutis in *Ara*
“Consecrat, ingenium sacrificatq; suum.”

AUDOENI EPIGR. L. IV. Ep. 1.

The lines quoted by Mr. Isaac Walton were inscribed by Andrew Melville, not to Lady Arabella Stuart, but to Sir William Seymour, afterward Marquis of Hertford, who was then imprisoned in the Tower, for marrying her without the King's consent. Fuller has transcribed them differently:

“Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, ara
“Regia bella tibi, regia sacra mihi.”

Edward Philips, a nephew of Milton, published his “*Lives of the Poets*” in 1615. He thus quotes this distich:

“Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, Ara
“Bella tibi causa est carceris, Ara mihi.”

This seems to be the better reading. Melville did not hold the altar to be sacred.

so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook^a.

And, in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour¹; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations and the applauses of an orator, which he always performed so

3 B 2

well,

^a James Duport, the learned son of a learned father, John Duport, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, was Greek Professor in that university. No one ever filled the chair with more credit to himself. He imbibed the very language, the very spirit of Homer. His admirable Greek versions of the book of Job, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the Psalms, will perpetuate and endear his name to the admirers of classic elegance. On the promotion of Dr. Edward Rainbow to the see of Carlisle, he was appointed Dean of Peterborough, and in 1668 was elected Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge. He published a collection of Latin poems of different kinds in 1662, under the title of "Ecclesiastes Solomonis, Auctore Joan. Viviano, Canticum Solomonis, necnon Epigrammata sacra, per Ja. Duportum. Accedunt Georgii Herberti Musæ responsoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam" — "The Musæ responsoriæ" consist of fifty epigrams, as Mr Herbert himself calls them, intended as an answer to a poem written by Andrew Melville, in Sapphic measure, against the discipline of the Church of England, containing fifty stanzas, and addressed to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Three of Mr. Herbert's epigrams are inscribed to King James, one to the Prince of Wales, one to the Bishop of Winchester, one to the people of Scotland, exhorting them to peace, one to those whom he supposed to be led astray by Melville and other writers of his persuasion, the last to the Deity, and the rest to Melville himself.

In the Preface to this work, Duport thus speaks of Mr. Herbert: "Postquam hæc scripseram, tradita mihi in manus sunt a venerabili viro Gu. Dillingham, S. T. D. Coll. Eman. Præf. Epigrammata quædam pro disciplinâ ecclesiæ nostræ apologetica, aliquot abhinc annis conscripta a Geo. Herbert, at quali et quanto viro, et poetâ quam pio, quam ingenioso! De quo præstat omnino tacere quam pauca dicere; præsertim cum eximiam ejus pietatem admirabilis ingenii sale conditam loquetur *Templum*, loquetur tempus, loquetur æternitatis. Hæc igitur carmina polita admodum et elegantia τῇ πατρὶς γῆνισα τέχνη, et auctoris genium planè redolentia quasi auræ coronidis loco prioribus attexere visum est.

¹ "Ignoramus," a Latin comedy, and "Albumazar," an English comedy, from which Ben Jonson is accused by Mr. Dryden of having taken his "Alchymist," were often acted at Cambridge before King James.

well, that he still grew more into the King's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That he found the orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great secretary of Nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon^k (Lord Verulam), and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication¹ of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did, not long after, send the bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in
a long

^k Such is the celebrity of the name of Bacon, that to mention it is to suggest an idea of every thing great and super-eminent in knowledge. He is justly styled by Sir Henry Wotton "*Scientiarum lumen, facundia lex*," in the inscription on his monument, in the church of St. Alban's. This wonderful man, ignorant of geometry, would have been excluded from the school of Plato. But he gained admittance into another school, that of Nature, "who never before had so noble nor so true an interpreter, or never so inward a secretary of her cabinet."

¹ " TO HIS VERY GOOD FRIEND, MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

"The pains that it pleased you to take about some of my writings I cannot forget, which did put me in mind to dedicate to you this poor exercise of my sickness. Besides, it being my manner for dedications to choose those that I hold most fit for the argument, I thought that in respect of divinity and poetry met, whereof the one is the matter, the other the style of this little writing, I could not make better choice: so with signification of my love and acknowledgment, I ever rest,

"Your affectionate friend,

"FR. ST. ALBANS."

Mr. Herbert translated into Latin part of "The Advancement of Learning."

a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these, I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death, he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor (the emblem of hope), and of which Dr. Donne would often say, "*Crux mihi anchora*."^m These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herbert's death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the doctor given to him:

When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this seal and so gave o'er.

When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,
This anchor keeps my faith, that me secure.

At this time of being orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a secretary of state, he being at that time very high in the King's favour; and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the court nobility: This, and the love of a court-conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King, wheresoever the court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his Majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph.ⁿ—It was the same, that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite Sir Philip Sidney; and valued to be worth a hundred and twenty pounds
per

^m See "Walton's Life of Dr. Donne," p. 81.

ⁿ Dr. Richard Parry, who died Sept. 26, 1623.

per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike°, who is now prebendary of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the university, and decline all study, which, he thought, did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, "He had too thoughtful a wit: a wit, like a penknife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the university, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; it is one of those that bear the title of
"Affliction;"

° Mr. Herbert Thorndike was then fellow of Trinity College. He was ejected from his fellowship by the usurped powers, and admitted to the rectory of Barley in Hertfordshire, July 2, 1642. On the death of Dr. Samuel Ward, he was elected to the Mastership of Sidney College, but was kept out of it by the oppressions of the times. For his sufferings and great learning he was installed Prebendary of Westminster, Sept. 5, 1660. In the year following he resigned his living of Barley, and died in 1672. He assisted Dr. Walton in the edition of the Polyglot Bible. Besides his celebrated work of "Just Weights and Measures; that is, the present State of Religion weighed in the Balance, and measured by the Standard of the Sanctuary." 4to. 1662.—He composed other tracts relative to the differences which at that time disturbed the peace of the Church. Some of his works, particularly those which were published in the latter part of his life, gave great offence. He is accused of leaning to the Church of Rome, declaring that church to be a true church, the Pope not Antichrist, the Papists not idolaters, whilst his aversion to the Presbyterians and other sectaries exceeded all bounds. Mr. Baxter has described him as speaking once at the Savoy conference "a few important passionate words, confuting the opinion that had been received of him from his first writings, and confirming that which his second and last writings had given of him."—See "Kennet's Register," p. 508, 618.

“Affliction;” and it appears to be a pious reflection on God’s providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says :

Whereas my birth and spirit rather took

The way that takes the town :

Thou didst betray me to a ling’ring book,

And wrap me in a gown :

I was entangled in a world of strife,

Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threatened oft the siege to raise,

Not simp’ring all mine age ;

Thou often didst with academic praise

Melt and dissolve my rage :

I took the sweeten’d pill, till I came where

I could not go away, nor persevere.

Yet left perchance I should too happy be

In my unhappiness,

Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me

Into more sicknesses.

Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making

Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me

None of my books will shew :

I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,

For then sure I should grow

To fruit or shade, at least, some bird would trust

Her household with me, and I would be just.

Yet though thou troublest me, I must be meek,

In weakness must be stout :

Well, I will change my service and go seek

Some other master out :

Ah ! my dear God, though I am clean forgot,

Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herbert’s attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain

chain of causes, did, in a short time, put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond^p, and James Marquis of Hamilton^q; and not long after him, King James died also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's court hopes: so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court-life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him)—These were such conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside; but, at last, God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did at his return to London, acquaint a court-friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly judged that the domestic servants of the King of heaven, should be of the noblest families on earth: and though the iniquity of the late times have
" made

^p This nobleman, who was also Duke of Lenox in Scotland, and Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, died Feb. 25, 1625, the day on which a new Parliament was to meet. The King, who was his relation, was so much affected at the news of his sudden death, that "he would not adorn himself that day to ride in his glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the nineteenth of February following, dedicating some part of that time to the memory of his dead servant." (*Wilson's Life and Reign of King James I.*)

^q A distinguished favourite of James I. The death of these two noblemen affected the King exceedingly; and when it was told him the Marquis was dead, he said, "*If the branches be thus cut down, the stock cannot continue long;*" which saying proved too true, for shortly after he fell into a fever, of which he died at Theobald's, March 27, 1625.

^r It appears from a letter written by Mr. George Herbert to one of his friends, and dated March 18, 1617, Trin. Coll. that he had devoted himself to the study of divinity. "I want books extremely: you know, Sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life."



G. Cut Del.

A South East View of *ST. MARY'S CHURCH*, at *LEIGHTON-BROMESWOLD* in *HUNTINGDONSHIRE*.

BUILT by MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

J. Roe Sculp.

“ made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contempt-
 “ ible ; yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learn-
 “ ing, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God that gave
 “ them ; knowing that I can never do too much for him that hath done so
 “ much for me, as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like
 “ my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by
 “ following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus.”

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it ; for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn : but that he was about that time made deacon is most certain ; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebendary of Layton Ecclesia*, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626 ; and that this prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that see†. And now he had a fit occasion to shew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

3 C

This

* In “ Ecton’s List of the prebendal Dignities belonging to the Church of Lincoln,” it is called “ Leighton Bromeswold, Ecclesia P. in Co. Huntingd.” In “ Bacon’s Liber Regis,” it is termed “ Leighton Bosard, alias Leighton Beaudefert, P. Ecclesiæ Lincoln.”

† Dr. John Williams, afterward Archbishop of York, was then Bishop of Lincoln, the last ecclesiastic who was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Of him it was said, that “ He never saw the book of worth he read not ; he never forgot what he read ; he never lost the use of what he remembered ; every thing he heard or saw was his own, and what was his own he knew how to use to the utmost.” Whatever discrepancy of opinion there may be, in justly appreciating the character of this prelate, it must be owned that he was a munificent patron of learning and learned men. Twelve persons from one society, that of Trinity College in Cambridge, were distinguished by him, and advanced to preferment. Among these we observe Dr. Creighton, Mr. George Herbert, Dr. Anthony Scattergood, Mr. James Duport, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, names dear to literature. When the see of Exeter was vacant, he seized the opportunity of gratifying two worthy divines, his old friends, “ who had been both bred in the house of wisdom with Lord Chancellor Egerton,” *Dr. Carew*, who had been his chaplain, and *Dr. Dunn*, who had been his secretary, “ a laureat wit, neither was it possible that a vulgar soul should dwell in such promising features.” These two prevailed by the Lord Keeper’s commendation against all pretenders ; the Bishopric of Exeter was conferred upon *Dr. Carew*, and *Dr. Dunn* succeeded him in the Deanery of St. Paul’s. (*Hacket’s Life of Archbishop Williams.*)—Mr. Herbert did not long continue orator after his promotion to this prebend, Mr. Robert Creighton his successor being appointed in 1627.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden^u, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish-church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost 20 years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands: being for the workmanship a costly Mosaic; for the form an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured, it is the most remarkable parish-church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height^{*}:
for

^u Spalden, or Spalding, is a town in Lincolnshire. Mr. Walton has mistaken the name for Spaldwick, or Spaldick, in Huntingdonshire.

^{*} It appears from a recent survey of this church, that the reading-desk is on the right-hand in the nave; just as you enter the chancel, and that its height is seven feet four-inches; and that the pulpit is on the left-hand, and exactly of the same height. They are both pentagonal. The church is at present chiefly paved with bricks: the roofs both of the church and chancel are tiled, and not under-drawn or ceiled. There are no communion-rails; but, as you advance to the communion-table, you ascend three steps. The windows are large and handsome, with some small remnants of painted glass. The seats and pews both in the nave, the cross-aisle, and the chancel, somewhat resemble the stalls in cathedrals, but are very simple, with little or no ornament, nearly alike, and formed of oak. It was evidently the intention of Mr. Herbert that in his church there should be no distinction between the seats of the rich and those of the poor. During divine service the men have from time immemorial been accustomed to sit on the south-side of the nave, and the women on the north-side. In the cross-aisle, the male-servants sit on the south-side, and the female-servants on the north-side.

The strongest and best part of the church is the tower, which is of most durable and excellent stone, dug out of the quarries of Barnock in Northamptonshire. It is considered as a fine specimen of good architecture.

Mr. Walton seems to have been misinformed when he writes, that the workmanship of the church was a costly Mosaic, and that Mr. Herbert lived to see it wainscotted. No traces of either are discoverable. The church is now, in 1795, dilapidated in several parts.

for he would often say, "They should neither have a precedence or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation'."

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebendary, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was likely to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea (where she then dwelt), and at his coming said, "George, I sent for you, to persuade you to commit Simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given to you; namely, that you give him back his prebend: For, George, it is not for your weak body and empty purse to undertake to build churches." Of which he desired he might have a day to consider, and then make her an answer: And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, "That she would at the age of thirty-three years allow him to become an undutiful son; for he had made a vow to God, that if he were able, he would rebuild that church:" And then shewed her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to solicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of

3 C. 2.

Lenox,

† An ill custom prevailed at court after the accession of James I.; whenever the King came to the chapel, divine service was suddenly broke off, and an anthem sung to make immediate way for the sermon. This custom, as implying a contempt of the liturgy, or at least a preference of preaching to prayer, was set aside by Dr. Laud, while he was Dean of the chapel.

"Resort to sermons, but to prayers most:

"Praying's the end of preaching."

(Mr. George Herbert's CHURCH PORCH.)

"In the church of Little Gidding the pulpit was fixed on the north, the reading-desk over against it on the south-side of the church, and both on the same level; it being thought improper that a higher place should be appointed for preaching than that which was allotted for prayer." (*Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 178.)

Lenox^z, and his brother Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered ; also, the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer^a, and Mr. Arthur Woodnot ; the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith, in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten : for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place ; but before I proceed farther I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot :

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them^b ; and considered that there be many discontents that riches cure not ; and did therefore set limits to himself as to desire of wealth : and having attained so much as to be able to shew some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God ; and to be useful for his friends : and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert ; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the re-building of that church ; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was an useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him, till he closed his eyes on his death-bed ; I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt

^z He was the son of Efme Stuart, Duke of Richmond, and brother to Lodowick the last Duke, who was the particular friend of Mr. Herbert. This great and excellent man, as Echard calls him, who had never once deviated from his honour and loyalty, and had seen three of his brothers die in the royal cause, died in the beginning of 1675, having never had his health nor yet his spirits, since the deplorable murder of his beloved master ; for the saving of whose life he had the honour to offer his own. See "Echard's Hist. of England," Vol. II. p. 782.

^a Or rather Ferrar, from the Latin word *ferrarius*. The arms of this family have three horse shoes on a bend, as appears from a brass-plate in the chapel of Little Gidding, affixed to the tomb-stone of John Ferrar, Esq. "late lord of this mannour, who departed this life the 28th of September, 1657."

^b According to an old observation,

"Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri."

betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS MOTHER, IN HER SICKNESS.

“MADAM,

“AT my last parting from you, I was the better content because I was in
 “hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family; but since I
 “know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I
 “wish earnestly that I were again with you; and, would quickly make
 “good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now
 “but a month to our commencement: wherein my absence by how much
 “it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers
 “the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all conso-
 “lation. In the mean time, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort
 “yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any
 “sorrow but for sin. What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a
 “moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or
 “boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as the
 “earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles com-
 “pared to heavenly joys: therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to
 “those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who
 “are now so near those true comforts.—Your last letter gave me earthly
 “preferment, and, I hope, kept heavenly for yourself. But would you di-
 “vide and choose too? our college customs allow not that; and I should
 “account myself most happy if I might change with you: for I have al-
 “ways observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk,
 “full of snarles and incumbrances: Happy is he, whose bottom is wound up
 “and laid ready for work in the new Jerusalem. For myself, dear mother, I
 “always feared sickness more than death; because sickness hath made me
 “unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world; and must
 “yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already
 “abundantly

“ abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so
 “ brought up your children that they have attained to the years of discre-
 “ tion, and competent maintenance. So that now if they do not well, the
 “ fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will
 “ justify you both to the world and your own conscience: infomuch, that
 “ whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are
 “ to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for tem-
 “ poral afflictions, I beseech you consider, all that can happen to you are
 “ either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what
 “ poor regard ought they to be, since if we had riches we are commanded
 “ to give them away? so that the best use of them is, having, not to have
 “ them. But, perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and
 “ estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion: But, O God!
 “ how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in
 “ the holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never
 “ find ‘Blessed be the rich,’ or ‘Blessed be the noble;’ but *Blessed be the meek,*
 “ and *Blessed be the poor,* and *Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be com-*
 “ *forted.* And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only
 “ not desired, but even feared to be blessed. And for afflictions of the body,
 “ dear Madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been
 “ burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures, as the very
 “ mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had
 “ an end: and yours (which praised be God, are less) are not like to con-
 “ tinue long. I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your pre-
 “ sent fear and sorrow; and know that if any of yours should prove a Go-
 “ liath-like trouble, yet you may say with David, *That God, who delivered me*
 “ *out of the paws of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of*
 “ *this uncircumcised Philistine.* Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul: con-
 “ sider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in,
 “ and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow
 “ that any sadness shall be his competitor. And, above all, if any care
 “ of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the
 “ Psalmist: *Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee,* Psal. lv.
 “ To which join that of St. Peter, *Casting all your care on the Lord, for*
 “ *he*

" *he careth for you*, 1 Pet. v. 7. What an admirable thing is this, that God
 " puts his shoulder to our burden, and entertains our care for us that we
 " may the more quietly intend his service. To conclude, let me commend
 " only one place more to you (Philip. iv. 4.); St. Paul saith there, *Rejoice in*
 " *the Lord always: And again I say, rejoice.* He doubles it to take away the
 " scruple of those that might say, what, shall we rejoice in afflictions? yes,
 " I say again, rejoice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice or not rejoice;
 " but whatsoever befalls us we must always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord,
 " who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verse: *Let your mo-*
 " *deration appear to all men: The Lord is at hand: Be careful for nothing.*—
 " What can be said more comfortably? trouble not yourselves, God is at
 " hand to deliver us from all, or in all. Dear Madam, pardon my boldness,
 " and accept the good meaning of

" Your most obedient son,

" TRIN. COL. MAY 25, 1622.

" GEORGE HERBERT."

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague^c,
 by

^c The following lines are taken from a poem of Mr. Herbert's, entitled "Affliction."

" At first thou gav'st me milk and sweetneses;
 " I had my wish and way:
 " My days were strew'd with flow'rs and happiness;
 " There was no month but May.
 " But with my years sorrow did twist and grow,
 " And made a party unawares for woe:
 " My flesh began unto my soul in pain,
 " *Sickness clawe my bones,*
 " *Consuming agues dwell in every vein,*
 " And tune my breath to groans.
 " Sorrow was all my soul; I scarce believed,
 " Till grief did tell me roundly—that I lived."

by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheumes and other weakneses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted, that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end: And his remove was to Dauntsey in Wiltshire, a noble house, which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers^d Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness: And then he declared his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother and his other relations; but she lived

^d Henry Danvers, created Baron of Dauntsey by King James, and Earl of Danby by Charles I. He was Knight of the Bath, and died unmarried, Jan. 20, 1673.

ON LORD DANVERS.

" Sacred marble, safely keep
 " His dust, who under thee must sleep,
 " Until the years again restore
 " Their dead, and time shall be no more.
 " Mean while, if he (which all things wears)
 " Does ruin thee, or if thy tears
 " Are shed for him; dissolve thy frame,
 " Thou art requited: for his fame,
 " His virtue, and his worth shall be
 " Another monument to thee.

G. HERBERT."

lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton Church, yet in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton^c, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.

He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very straight; and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all so meek and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman, of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, Esq.; this Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often, and publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many); but

3 D

rather

^c "Robert Cretone, or Creitton, was elected Scholar of Trinity College in Cambridge, May 6, 1614; Minor Fellow, Oct. 1, 1619; Major Fellow, March 16, 1620." (*From the Burfar's Books of Trinity College.*)

He was a native of Scotland, educated at Westminster School, and from thence elected to Trinity College. He was afterward Greek Professor, and Orator of the University. In 1632 he was made Treasurer of Wells, and in 1637 Dean of St. Burien in Cornwall. In the beginning of the Rebellion, as well as in its progress, he suffered severely for the royal cause, and was an exile with Charles II. who, on his Restoration, gave him the Deanery of Wells. During his absence from England he was the editor of "The History of the Council of Florence," written originally in Greek, and translated by him into Latin, from an authentic MS. copy. "Vera Historia unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos: five Concilii Florentini exactissima narratio Græcè scripta," &c. Hagæ Comitum, 1660, fol. paginis, 351.

Being chaplain to the King, he reprov'd the vices of the times with boldness, whenever he preached at court; "which," says Wood, "was well taken by some, though sncer'd at by others." However, in 1670 he was advanced to the see of Bath and Wells, and dying in 1672 was buried in that cathedral. See "Wood's Fasti," Vol. I. p. 243. And "Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy."

rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter: And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing; and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a Platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but alas, her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dauntsey; yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprised city, and love having got such possession governed, and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist; insomuch that she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a love-phrenzy, or worse; but it was not, for they had wooed so like princes, as to have select proxies; such as were true friends to both parties; such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estates, so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence; and the more, because it proved so happy to both parties: For the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections and compliance; indeed so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls, as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle^f, who was then Rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and not long

^f Walter Curle, D. D. was born at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, a seat of the Earls of Salisbury. His father was a servant to William Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and as his agent in the affair of the Queen of Scots, and steward of his estates so faithful and helpful, that the Earl not only preferred

long after translated to Winchester, and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted patron of it) but to the King, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement: But Philip, then Earl of Pembroke (for William^e was lately dead),

3 D 2

requested

preferred him to be Auditor of the Court of Wards, but advanced this his son to be Fellow of Peter House in Cambridge, and presented him to a good living, in which he discharged the duties of a pastor so well, in preventing law-suits, and composing differences among his parishioners, suppressing houses of debauchery, and regulating many other disorders, gaining many Dissenters to the church by his wife and meek discourses, and leaving others who were obstinate in error, inexcusable by his holy conversation and charitable hospitality, that the Earl recommended him to King James I. as a fit person for his chaplain; in which station he soon became the object of his Majesty's favour, which he found by being made Dean of Litchfield in 1621. King Charles I. in 1628 appointed him Bishop of Rochester, where he continued not much longer than a year before he was removed to Bath and Wells, and then to Winchester, in which he sat, when the late grand Rebellion began, wherein he was a great sufferer. He left no other demonstration of his learning, than a Sermon preached at Whitehall, on *Heb. xii. 14.* April 28, 1622. (*Magna Britannia, Vol. IV. p. 857.*)

^e William, third Earl of Pembroke died April 10, 1630. He was the son of Henry second Earl of Pembroke, by his third wife Mary, the accomplished sister of Sir Philip Sidney, in whom the muses and the graces seemed to meet, and to whose memory the well-known beautiful lines were written :

“ Underneath this marble hearse
 “ Lies the subject of all verse,
 “ Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother:
 “ Death, erst thou hast slain another,
 “ Wise and fair and good as she,
 “ Time shall throw a dart at thee.”

Sir Philip Sidney dedicated to her his celebrated Romance called, from this circumstance, “ The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.”

The character of this William Earl of Pembroke is not only one of the most amiable in Lord Clarendon's history, but is one of the best drawn. (*Cat. of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. p. 192.*) “ He was,” says Wood, “ not only a great favourer of learned and ingenious men, but was himself learned and endowed to admiration with a poetical geny.” His poems were published with this title, “ Poems written by William Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are answered by way of Repartee, by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, with other Poems written by them occasionally and apart.” London, 1660.

requested the King to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the King said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance." And the Earl as willingly and suddenly sent it him without seeking: But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account, that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month; in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, "He endured," as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts as none can think, but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations) and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl^b, and the whole Court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented

^b Philip fourth Earl of Pembroke, and first Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain of the Household to King Charles I. and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, of whom see "The Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. II. p. 191." By Susan his first wife, daughter of Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, he had issue seven sons and three daughters. To his second wife he married June 13, 1630, Ann, sole daughter and heir to George Earl of Cumberland, widow of Richard Earl of Dorset, but by her had no issue at his death, Jan. 23, 1649-50, leaving his lady surviving, who is justly celebrated for her life and manners, extensive charity and beneficence. Dying March 22, 1675, she was buried at Appleby in Westmoreland, where her funeral sermon was preached by Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, April 14, 1676, with some remarks on the life of that eminent lady, from *Prov.* xiv. 1. He observes of her, that she had early gained a knowledge as of the best things; so an ability to discourse in all commendable arts and sciences, as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know: For she could discourse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives in any kind, insomuch that a prime and elegant wit, Dr. Donne, well seen in all human learning, and afterward devoted to the study of divinity, is reported to have said of this lady in her younger years to this effect, "That she knew well how to discourse of all things, from predestination to flea-silk."

presented his thanks to the Earl, for his presentation to Bemerton; but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why; but that night the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, *that the refusal of it was a sin*, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes¹ against next day; which the tailor did: And Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant^k, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before); and he was also the same day (which was April 26, 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, parsonage of Bemerton; which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the parsonage of Bemerton; and to the thirty-sixth of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it! A life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no
need

¹ It appears from this passage that a distinction of dress was not strictly observed by those who were admitted only into deacon's orders. Though Mr. Herbert was ordained deacon about the year 1626, he still continued to wear his sword and silk clothes.

^k Dr. John Davenant, elected in 1609 Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; and in 1614 President of Queen's College, was promoted to the Bishopric of Salisbury in 1621. A zealous and steady opposer of Arminianism. He was appointed by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort. He is described by Echard as a person of sound learning, deep divinity, and unblemished life. His eagerness to establish peace and a brotherly union between the different reformed churches may be inferred from the animated language with which he has expressed himself on the subject: "I had rather a millstone were hanged about my neck, and I cast
" into the sea, than that I should hinder a work so acceptable to God, or should not with my
" whole mind and strength support it." In a prayer uttered a short time before his death,
" he thanked God for his fatherly correction, because in all his life-time he never had one
" heavy affliction; which made him often much suspect with himself, whether he was a true
" child of God or no, until this his last sickness. 'Then he sweetly,' continues Fuller, 'fell
" asleep; and so we softly draw the curtain about him.'

need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety ; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas ! who is fit to undertake it ? I confess I am not ; and am not pleased with myself that I must ; and profess myself amazed when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now : But it becomes not me to censure : My design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows ; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell (as the law requires him), he staid so much longer than an ordinary time before he returned to those friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar : at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he set some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life ; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot ;
 “ I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more
 “ happy than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for : And
 “ I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it
 “ is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty,
 “ imaginary, painted pleasures : Pleasures that are so empty, as not to sa-
 “ tisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God and his service is a fulness of
 “ all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endea-
 “ vours to bring my relations and dependents to a love and reliance on
 “ him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure
 “ to live well, because the virtuous life of a clergyman is the most power-
 “ ful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least
 “ to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in
 “ an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts¹. And I
 “ beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve
 “ him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these
 “ good

¹ “ Longum iter est per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla.” (*Seneca.*)

"good desires, and resolutions; so he will, by his assisting grace, give me
 "ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect. And I beseech him that
 "my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory
 "to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my master^m and governor:
 "and I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe, and obey,
 "and do his will; and always call him Jesus my master, and I will always
 "contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me,
 "when I shall compare them with my title of being a priest, and serving at
 "the altar of Jesus my master."

And that he did so may appear in many parts of his "Book of Sacred
 Poems;" especially in that which he calls "The Odour." In which he
 seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word, *Jesus*, and say, that the adding
 these words, *my master*, to it, and the often repetition of them seemed to per-
 fume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And
 for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place
 of his poems ("The Pearl," *Matt. xiii.*) to rejoice and say,—“He knew
 "the ways of learning; knew what nature does willingly; and what,
 "when it is forced by fire: Knew the ways of honour, and when glory
 "inclines the soul to noble expressions: Knew the court: Knew the ways
 "of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined
 "all these for the service of his master Jesus;” and then concludes, saying,

"That through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit:
 "But thy silk-twist let down from heav'n to me
 "Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
 "To climb to thee.

The

^m See "Duport's Verses on the Life of Mr. George Herbert."—In these his pious resolu-
 tions, Mr. Herbert seems almost to adopt the triumphant assertions of St. Paul: "*Yea, I count*
 "*all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus,*" *Phil. iii. 8.* May these
 sentiments engage the serious attention of the younger clergy! Nothing surely can be more
 disgraceful than for a minister of the gospel to assume the appearance of disclaiming his func-
 tion, by imitating the habit and deportment of secular persons, when he affects the gentleman
 so much that he forgets the clergyman. (*See Scougal's Works, p. 246.*)

ⁿ Mr. George Herbert's "Temple," p. 169. Edit. of 1709.

^o Ibid. p. 81.

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat ; he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton ; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—" You are now a minister's wife, " and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners ; for you are to know, that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility ; and I am sure places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife as to assure him it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so ; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her ; and this love followed her in all places as inseparably, as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel ; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed, by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house, namely, at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind ; but after she had spoken some few words to him, she was surpris'd with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her ; which he perceiving did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, " Speak, good mother, be not afraid to speak to me ; for I am a man that will hear you with patience ; and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able ; and this I will do willingly ; and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire."— After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her " he would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care : " and having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a poor

poor body to be but heard with patience), he, like a Christian clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God and praying for him. Thus worthy and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman; with which she was so affected that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman; and with them a message, "that she would see and be acquainted with her when her house was built at Bemerton."

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related; but I shall first tell that he hastened to get the parish-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel (which stands near his house), and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall:

TO MY SUCCESSOR.

If thou chance for to find
A new house to thy mind,
And built without thy cost:
Be good to the poor,
As God gives thee store,
And then my labour's not lost.

We will now, by the reader's favour, suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth); and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless, Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders.

And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a deacon^p, and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Henchman^q, now Lord Bishop of London (who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning), tells me, “He laid his hand on Mr. Herbert’s head; and alas! within less than three years, lent his shoulder^r to carry his dear friend to his grave.”

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be ought to observe; and that time might not

^p Admission to a cure of souls did not then require the person admitted to be in priest’s orders. In the times preceding the reformation, even those who were under age, and in the lowest degree of orders, obtained presentations to benefices. Thus *Colet*, Dean of St Paul’s, was instituted to a rectory, when he was only nineteen years of age, and an *Acolyte*. But by 13 Eliz. c. 12. no person shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the least, and a *deacon*. And by 13, 14 Car. II. c. 4. no person whatsoever shall thenceforth be capable to be admitted to any parsonage, &c. unless he have formerly been made priest, by Episcopal ordination.

^q Dr. Humphrey Henchman was at that time prebendary of the church of Salisbury. Being much esteemed by Charles II. whose escape, after the battle of Worcester, he was very instrumental in promoting, he was preferred to the see of Salisbury in 1660, and in 1663 was removed to London, and made Lord Almoner. When the declaration for liberty of conscience was published in 1671-2, this prelate firmly adhered to his duty, and was not afraid to incur the King’s displeasure, by strictly enjoining his clergy to preach against Popery.

^r When the good Dr. Hammond was buried without ostentation or pomp, several of the gentry and clergy of the country, and affectionate multitudes of less quality, attending on his obsequies, the clergy with ambition offering themselves *to bear him on their shoulders*, which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burden in the burial-place of the generous family which with such friendship had entertained him when alive. (*Fell’s Life of Dr. Hammond*, p. 276.)—See “The Life of Mr. Joseph Mede,” prefixed to his Works, p. xxxiii.—In the earlier ages of the church, this custom, derived from the Jews, was religiously observed.—Persons designed for the office of bearing the dead upon their shoulders were called *κοπιηται*. But sometimes the friends of the deceased parties would carry the body themselves. Thus St. Basil was carried by the hands of holy men—*χερσιν αγιων υψευμενος*. And St. Jerom tells us, that Paula was borne to the grave by bishops—*cervicem feretro subjicientibus*.

not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might shew him his variations from this year's resolutions; he, therefore, did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book called "The Country Parson"; in which some of his rules are:

The Parson's knowledge.	The Parson arguing.
The Parson on Sundays.	The Parson condescending.
The Parson praying.	The Parson in his journey.
The Parson preaching.	The Parson in his mirth.
The Parson's charity.	The Parson with his churchwardens.
The Parson comforting the sick.	The Parson blessing the People.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these and the other holy rules set down in that useful book. A book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that that country parson, that can spare 12d. and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who published it with a most conscientious and excellent pre-

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face;

"The late Dr. John Burton, fellow of Eton College, whilst he gives a just character of Mr. Herbert, seems to have considered this work as a poetical composition. "Georgius Herbert, Domini Baronis de Cherbury frater, aliquando in Acad. Cantab. Orator publicus, deinde Rector de Bemerton in agro Wilts. pietate insignis et ingenio poema scripsit, cui titulus "Sacerdos paræcialis rusticus," ipse tituli quem libello præscripsit fidem moribus suis adimplens, et officia sacerdotalia, quæ descripsit, exemplo suo illustrans."

"From his observance of these rules, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, who knew him, had great reason to pronounce him "A peer to the primitive saints, and more than a pattern to his own age."

"Barnabas Oley, a private clergyman of singular piety, learning, and charity, was born at Warmfield, a village in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where his father was vicar. Having received his education in the free grammar-school of Wakefield, under Mr. Jeremy Gibson, he was admitted of Clare Hall, in the university of Cambridge. He was elected probationary fellow of the old foundation of Lady Clare, Nov. 28, 1623; and in 1627 he became a senior fellow, that is, a fellow of Lady Clare's foundation. Having for some time discharged the office

face; from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this Life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's

office of tutor in his college with great credit, he succeeded to the vicarage of Great Grandsden, in Huntingdonshire. In 1635, he was one of the proctors of the university. In 1644 he was ejected from his fellowship by Edward Earl of Manchester, major-general of the Parliament's forces, for not residing at Cambridge, nor repairing thither upon being summoned. But these were not the true cause of this severity. Mr. Oley, at the imminent hazard of his life, led the party which conveyed the plate and money, collected in that university for the support of the royal cause, to his Majesty King Charles, at Nottingham.—“*Barcicus autem aliiq; selecti academici, quorum arcano studio tantæ difficultatis opus mandabatur, consilii Cromwelliani compotes facti, subsidium regium per loca devia exiguâ equitum manu stipatum ablegant, eâ ipsâ nocte quâ Cromwellus cum suo pedite viam solitam obstruebat, certo certius luce proximâ ab hoste corripendum. Hujus itineris ducem consultissimum virum BARNABAM OLÆUM locorum quibus devianandum erat peritum constituunt. Is erat Aulae Clarensis Præses, pietatis certe Cantabrigienfis in optimum regem et charissimam patriam aptissimus nuncius et interpres. Hoc enim viro nescio an Academia Cantabrigienfis unquam quicquam habuit aut modestius aut sanctius. Ille autem sub divinis auspiciis hoc quaecunque academix fidei pignus et testimonium ad regios pedes Nottinghamiæ submisit. (Vita Johannis Berwick, S. T. P. p. 16, 17.)*—He was at this time plundered of all his property, and so much harassed and menaced by the rebels, as to be under the necessity of leaving his vicarage. To avoid discovery he frequently changed his habit. For seven years he wandered about, having scarce wherewith to support himself. He fled for safety to the town of Wakefield; and we find him at one time in Pontefract castle with some other loyal and worthy clergymen, preaching to the soldiers of the garrison, and encouraging them to defend the place against the King's enemies.

In 1659 he returned to Grandsden, when he had not, to use his own words, where to lay his head. In 1660 he was restored to his fellowship. A prebend in the church of Worcester, and the archdeaconry of Ely were conferred upon him. The latter he resigned, the former he kept with his vicarage to the time of his death, Feb. 20, 1685-6.

He was the editor of the learned Dr. Thomas Jackson's Works, and of Mr. Geo. Herbert's “*Priest to the Temple.*” His prefaces to both those publications are truly excellent, and will always be read with equal pleasure and edification. His letters, some of which were in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Bigg, the late vicar of Great Grandsden, breathe the spirit of primitive piety and apostolical simplicity. I cannot dismiss this article without observing that Mr. Oley was a generous benefactor to his college, which becoming ruinous was taken down and re-edified. Fuller says, “that he may be truly termed *Master of the Fabric*, so industrious and judicious was he in overseeing the same. Nor was he like the foolish builder that could not, but the unhappy, that might not finish his work; being outed the college on the account of the covenant.” (*Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 38.)

mon's Proverbs, and the words were, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience both to God and man. And delivered his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence. But, at the close of this sermon, told them, "That should not be his constant way of preaching; for since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but that for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons^x. And he then made it his humble request, "that they would be constant to the afternoon's service and catechising;" and shewed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which God knows were not many) were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read^y; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday^z does refer

^x The famous painter, Albrecht Durer, used to say, he took no delight in those pictures which were painted with many colours, but in those that were made most plain: "Even so," said Luther, "I take delight in those sermons that enter fine and simply, so that they may well be understood and comprehended of the common man." (*Luther's Table Talk*, p. 510.)

^y Mr. Herbert's chief delight was in the holy Scripture; one leaf whereof he professed he would not part with, though he might have the whole world in exchange. That was his wisdom, his comfort, his joy: Out of that he took his motto: "*Lesser than the least of all God's mercies.*" In that he found the substance, Christ; and, in Christ, remission of sins; yea, in his blood, he placed the goodness of his good works. "It is a good work" (said he, of building a church), if it be sprinkled with the blood of Christ." (*Mr. Barnabas Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert.*)

^z The excellency of some of the collects in our liturgy is truly admirable; such, indeed, as no other church can boast. But it will be difficult to conceive how Mr. Herbert could discover and shew the reference that the collect for every Sunday has to the gospel or epistle of that day. The relation which many of them bear to the respective gospels and epistles is very striking and obvious; as in those used on the two first Sundays in Advent, on the sixth Sunday

refer to the gospel or to the epistle then read to them ; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service ; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God ; as namely, that we begin with confession “ of ourselves to be vile miserable sinners ;” and that we begin so, because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for : but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed ; and hoping that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon ; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, “ to open our lips, that our mouths may shew forth his praise :” for, till then, we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, “ Glory be to the Father, “ and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost ;” and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church-service ; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past ; and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often and publicly, for “ with such sacrifices God is “ honoured and well-pleased.” This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation ; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind ;
and

day after the Epiphany, and some others : but it must be owned, that in several of them, the connexion is sought for in vain. When commissioners were appointed in 1680 to revise the liturgy, &c. among other amendments proposed, new collects were drawn up agreeable to the epistles and gospels.

and then to say with the blessed Virgin, that their "souls do magnify the Lord, "and that their spirits do also rejoice in God their saviour." And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, that their "eyes have" also "seen their salvation;" for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: And he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it; but they lived to see it daily in the history of it, and, therefore, ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that particular mercy. A service which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessed of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God, "glory be to God on high, and on earth peace." And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable service to God; because the prophet David says, in his Psalms, "He that praiseth the Lord honoureth him."

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our fore-fathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath (in our days) visited and "redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembered and shewed "that mercy which, by the mouth of the prophets, he promised to our "forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made "with them." And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his, and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord "God of Israel, that hath thus visited, and thus redeemed his people."— These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation.

gregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them also, when the priest did pray only for the congregation and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, "The Lord be with you;" and when they pray for him, saying, "And with thy spirit;" and then they join together in the following collects, and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels^a look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full service of the church; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service; and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also that as by the second commandment we are required not to bow down or worship an idol or false god; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up^b and worship the true

^a How comfortable is the doctrine, that the good angels condescend to notice the prayers of good men upon earth! to report, to commemorate, to present them before God in heaven! It is a part of the angelical ministry to offer our prayers unto God daily. To offer them—how? not as mediators and intercessors, adding virtue to our prayers from their merits, for this belongs to our Saviour Christ alone, the only meritorious mediator between God and man; but as messengers relating and reporting our prayers before God; "bringing the remembrance of them before the Holy One." The practical application of this doctrine to the purposes of devotion is too obvious to be here insisted on. See "Bull's Sermon's," Vol. II. p. 517, 520. "Joseph Mede's Works," p. 343, 347.

^b It is well known that the nobility and gentry of Poland were accustomed, when they repeated the creed, to stand up, holding their drawn swords in their hands, intimating thereby their readiness to defend it with their lives.

true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter creed or doxology so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that “the God that they trusted in was one God “and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom they “and the priest gave glory.” And because there had been hereticks that had denied some of those three persons to be God; therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, “It was so in the “beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end.” And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, *Amen*.

He instructed them also what benefit they had by the Church’s appointing the celebration of holydays, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker says) “to be “the land-marks to distinguish times:” for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us, and that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note, that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the angel’s appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that “she “should conceive and bear a son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind.” And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas; a day in which we commemorate his birth with joy and praise: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-year’s day. And that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: And that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was forty days after his birth presented by his blessed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call,

“The Purification of the blessed Virgin Saint Mary.” And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour’s humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his Crucifixion; and at Easter, commemorate his glorious Resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be “That Christ that was crucified, dead and buried;” and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his Resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his ascension; namely, “That though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter;” and that he did so on that day which the Church calls Whitsunday. Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy commemorations*.

He made them know also why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels were to be read at the Altar or Communion Table; why the priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray some collects standing; and he gave them many other observations fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention, for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise which I intended to be a much shorter account than.

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* Those that pretend to so much spirituality as to cast out all observation of days, I wish it may not be a system of infidelity in them, and of a secret quarrel they have to the truth of Christianity itself. For those that are most perfect in divine accomplishments, cannot enjoy the actual engravements that may arise from this perfection, without vacancy from secular employments, for which these holydays are most fit; and those that are less perfect, by their vacation from worldly drudgery, have the opportunity of searching more closely into the state and condition of their souls, and of more serious meditations and resolutions of composing their life to the most perfect patterns of truth and sanctity. (*Dr. Henry More’s Theological Works*, p. 381.)

I have made it:—But I have done when I have told the reader that he was constant in catechising every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine service; and of those ministers that huddled up the church-prayers without a visible reverence and affection; namely, *such as seemed to say the Lord's Prayer or a collect in a breath*: But for himself, his custom was to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place where the honour of his *Master Jesus* dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua brought not only—"His own household thus to serve the Lord," but brought most of his parishioners and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day: And some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's Saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing

back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example, to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—*Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.*

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol: And though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "That his time spent in prayer, and cathedral music^d,
"elevated

^d Mr. Herbert spoke with the same divine feeling as Milton did afterward :

" There let the pealing organ blow.
" To the full-voic'd choir below;
" In service high and anthem clear,
" As may with sweetness through mine ear
" Dissolve me into ecstasies,
" And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

CHURCH-MUSIC.

" Sweetest of sweets, I thank you : when displeasure
" Did through my body wound my mind,
" You took me thence, and in your house of pleasure
" A dainty lodging me assign'd.
" Now I in you without a body move,
" Rising and falling with your wings ;
" We both together sweetly live and love,
" Yet say sometimes, *God help poor kings.*
" Comfort, I'll die ; for if you part from me,
" Sure I shall do so, and much more :
" But if I travel in your companie,
" You know the way to heaven's door."

(*Herbert's Divine Poems.*)

See likewise " The Life of Dr. Donne," p. 78, and " Luther's Table Talk," p. 500.

It must not, however, be inferred that those, who hear the strains of church music without that ecstasy and rapture which others experience, are therefore strangers to the genuine pleasure

"elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

And as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city; and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this, the rather because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh." After which expression Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolence for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, "One cure for these distempers, would be for the clergy
" themselves.

fures of devotion: Nor are we to conclude, that those are always truly devout, who are delighted with this sublime species of musical composition. It is related of a good and pious prelate, who had determined, with Nazianzen, "to give wings to his soul, to rescue it wholly from the world, and dedicate it to God," that he did not love the pomp of a choir, which, he thought, filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from the serious attention to the matter; which is indeed the singing with grace in the heart, and the inward melody, with which God is chiefly pleased.

“ themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners
 “ to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious clergy.”

“ And another cure would be for themselves to restore the great and
 “ neglected duty of catechising, on which the salvation of so many of the
 “ poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but principally, that the clergy
 “ themselves would be sure to live unblamably; and that the dignified clergy
 “ especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all
 “ occasions to express a visible humility^e and charity in their lives: For this
 “ would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all
 “ that knew them to be such.” (And for proof of this, we need no other
 testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake^f, late Lord Bishop of Bath
 and Wells.) “ This,” said Mr. Herbert, “ would be a cure for the wicked-
 “ nefs and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be
 “ done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the
 “ manners of the laity; for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must
 “ do it; and till then the fault must lie at our doors.”

In

^e In that enumeration of the several virtues, which the elegant philosopher of Rome has introduced in his much-admired “ Treatise on the Duties of Life,” no mention is made of *humility*. It is indeed of too heavenly a nature to have a place in a system of Pagan superstition. But our divine Lawgiver has professedly made it the foundation of his religion, “ Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.” In the schools of this world, elaborate lectures are delivered on natural philosophy, on law, on medicine; but, in the school of Christ, the great lesson which is inculcated is the lesson of humility. Where this quality is wanting, where pride possesses the heart, a man may be deemed learned, ingenious, eloquent; but he has no title to the denomination of a Christian.

^f Dr. Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died in 1626. He obtained his preferment, “ not so much,” says Fuller, “ by the power of his brother, Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary to King James, as by his own desert, as one whose piety may be justly exemplary to all of his order. In all the places of honour and employment which he enjoyed, he carried himself the same in mind and person, shewing by his constancy, that his virtues were virtues indeed; in all kinds of which, whether natural moral, theological, personal, or paternal, he was eminent, and indeed one of the examples of his time. He always lived as a single man, exemplary in his life and conversation, and very hospitable. He was also well read in the fathers and schoolmen, and had a command of the Scripture, which made him one of the best preachers, that few went beyond him in his time.” (*Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p. 501.*)

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load; they were both in distress, and needed present help, which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horse: The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "that if he loved himself, he should be merciful to his beast." Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, who used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed; but he told them the occasion: And when one of the company told him "he had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment;" his answer was, "that the thought of what he had done, would prove music to him at midnight; and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place: For if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life, without comforting a sad soul, or shewing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And now let us tune our instruments."

Thus as our blessed Saviour, after his resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas and that other disciple which he met with, and accompanied, in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship,

ship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty ; for she rejoiced in the employment : And this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity. And for his own, he set no limits to it ; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours ; to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in distress ; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, “ he would not see the danger of want so far off ; but being the Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us, that charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith ; and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come ; being these and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity ! and that being all my tithes and church-dues are a *deodate* from thee, O my God, make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee ! and by thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my Master. Sir,” said he to his friend, “ my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death, and therefore as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God’s grace, be unalterable.”

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life ; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it ; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak : in one of which times of his reading his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him ; and he confessed it did, but said, “ his life could not be better spent, than in the service of his Master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him : But,” said he, “ I will not be wilful ; for though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak ; and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow, and I
“ will

“ will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality.” And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert’s death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert’s, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Ferrar^a (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert’s sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon^b (who is now Rector of Fryer Barnet, in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert’s condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at

3 G

that

^a “The friendship of good men may be maintained in vigour and height, without the ceremonies of visits and compliments, yea, without any trade of secular courtesies, merely in order to spiritual edification of one another in love. Mr. Ferrar and Mr. George Herbert loved each other most intimately, and drove a large stock of Christian charity long before their deaths, and yet they saw not each other in many years; I think, scarce ever, but as members of one university, in their whole lives.” (*Barnabas Oley’s Life of Mr. George Herbert.*)—Mr. George Herbert was very desirous of resigning his prebend in the church of Lincoln to this his dear friend, who declined the acceptance of it, and diverted or directed the charity of Mr. Herbert to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corps of the prebend lay.

Of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, a recluse almost to monachism, yet a rational and devout Christian, Bishop Turner says very properly, that some things in his life were rather to be admired than imitated: yet surely he and his society are not deserving of that censure with which they have been treated by the author of “British Topography.”

^b He was brother to Dr. Eleazer Duncon, Prebendary of Durham, and to Mr. John Duncon, “two very worthy and learned persons, and great sufferers, who died before the miracle of our happy restoration, and were happy in that they lived not to see such ostentation of sin and ingratitude, as some since have made, as if they had been delivered from slavery under the tyrant, that they might with more libertie yield themselves servants to sin under the tyrannie of Satan.” (*Barnabas Oley’s Preface, &c.*)

that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon, he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness inquired the health of his brother Ferrar; of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him; and after some discourse of Mr. Ferrar's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon, "Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me;" which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him "What prayers?" to which Mr. Herbert's answer was, "O, Sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England; no other prayers are equal to them! but at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Ferrar, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest.—This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me, that at his first view of Mr. Herbert he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and says, "his discourse was so pious, and his motion so genteel and meek, that after almost forty years yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning, Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days, and he did so; but before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Ferrar.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar (who got the reputation of being called "St. Nicholas" at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the 26thⁱ year of his age he betook himself to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion, and of
their

ⁱ Rather in the 21st year of his age. Mr. Ferrar was born Nov. 22, 1592, and went abroad in the retinue of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613. He was usually called "the Protestant Saint Nicholas, and the pious Mr. Herbert's brother." By the advice of Dr Butler, an eminent physician at Cambridge, his fellow collegian, he travelled for his health; his constitution, naturally delicate, having been much impaired by his incessant application to study.

their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church which calls itself Catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Ferrar's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Ferrar had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a-year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidding, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish-church or chapel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Ferrar having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, "a nothing between two dishes," did so condemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death: And his life was spent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting and using all those mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used: and he and they did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints'-days; and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner:—He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common-prayers (for he was a deacon) every day, at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish-church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a de-

population of the village, before Mr. Ferrar bought the manor : And he did also constantly read the matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house ; and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms ; and, in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Ferrar, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day ; and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God or reading the Psalms : and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse ; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Ferrar and his happy family serve God day and night :— Thus did they always behave themselves, as in his presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance ; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God.—And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Ferrar, and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night. And these various devotions had

never

never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it, and the parlour^k was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639¹.

Mr.

^k In this parlour was a tablet of brass, placed by the advice of Mr. Herbert, with this inscription approved by him:

I. H. S.

HE, WHO (BY REPROOF OF OUR ERRORS, AND REMONSTRANCE OF THAT WHICH IS MORE PER- FECT) SEEKS TO MAKE US BET- TER, IS WELCOME AS AN ANGEL OF GOD.	AND	HE, WHO (BY A CHEERFUL PARTICIPATION OF THAT WHICH IS GOOD) CONFIRMS US IN THE SAME, IS WELCOME AS A CHRISTIAN FRIEND.
EUT		
HE, WHO ANY WAYS GOES A- BOUT TO DISTURB US IN THAT WHICH IS AND OUGHT TO BE AMONGST CHRISTIANS (THO' IT BE NOT USUAL IN THE WORLD), IS A BURDEN WHILST HE STAYS, AND SHALL BEAR HIS JUDGMENT, WHOSOEVER HE BE.	AND	HE, WHO FAULTS US IN AB- SENCE FOR THAT WHICH IN PRESENCE HE MADE SHEW TO APPROVE OF, BOTH BY A DOUBLE GUILT OF FLATTERY AND SLANDER VIOLATE THE BANDS BOTH OF FRIENDSHIP AND CHARITY.
MARY FERRAR, WIDOW, MOTHER OF THIS FAMILY, ACED FOURSORE YEARS, (WHO BIDS ADIEU TO ALL FEARS AND HOPES OF THIS WORLD, AND ONLY DESIRES TO SERVE GOD) SET UP THIS TABLE.		

¹ Mr. Ferrar died Dec. 2, 1637. (*Dr. Peckard's Memoirs, &c.*)—That happy society, of which he was the founder, is thus noticed in a well-known ludicrous poem:

Mr. Ferrar's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Ferrar's commending "The Considerations of John Valdesse^m" (a book which he had met with in

" To th' new-founded College came I
 " Commended to the care of many;
 " Bounteous are they, kind and loving,
 " Doing whatso'er's behoving.
 " These hold and walk together wholly,
 " And state their lands on uses holy.
 " Whether pure these are or are not,
 " As I know not, so I care not:
 " But if they be dissembling brothers,
 " Their life surpasseth many others:
 " See but their cell, school, and their temple,
 " You'll say, the stars were their example."

Of this congregation of saints, see "Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams," p. 50—53. During the civil commotions, their religion and loyalty exposed them to danger. The whole family "fled away and dispersed, and *took joyfully the spoiling of their goods.*" *Heb. x. 34.*—All that they had restored to the church, all that they had bestowed upon sacred comelincs, all that they had gathered for their own livelihood and for alms, were seized upon as lawful prey, taken from superstitious persons.

^m The version of this celebrated work of John Valdesse is printed in octavo, and contains 311 pages. It is entitled, "The Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signior JOHN VALDESSO, treating of those Things which are most profitable, most necessary, and most perfect in our Christian Profession. Written in Spanish, brought out of Italy by Vergerius, and first set forth in Italian at Basil, by Cælius Secundus Curio, Anno 1550: afterward translated into French, and printed at Lyons, 1563, and again at Paris, 1565, and now translated out of the Italian Copy into English, with Notes: Whereunto is added an Epistle of the Author's, or a Preface to his divine Commentary upon the Romans. 1 *Cor. ii.* 'Howbeit we speak Wisdom amongst them that are perfect, yet not the Wisdom of this World.' Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University. Ann. Dom. 1638."

Of the nature of this work we may form an idea from the Address of the Editor, the learned Dr. Jackson, to the Reader:

" These

in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book

“ These truly divine meditations or considerations of Signior John Valdesſo, a nobleman of Spain (who died almost an hundred years agoe), having been so acceptable to pious Vigorius, to learned Cælius Secundus Curio, and to many others both french and italian protestants, that they have been translated out of the original spanish copy, and printed three or four times in those languages; it seemeth to me a reasonable and charitable design to print them now in English, without any alteration at all from the Italian copy, the Spanish being either not at all extant, or not easy to be found. It is certain that the book containeth many worthy discourses of experimental and practical divinity, well expressed, and elegantly illustrated, especially concerning the doctrines of justification and mortification: and yet, notwithstanding, there be some few expressions and similitudes in it, at which not only the weak reader may stumble, and the envious quarrel; but also the wise and charitable reader may justly blame. To have removed these few stumbling-blocks, or offensive passages by leaving them out, or by altering them, had not been the work of a translator, but of an author; besides the ill example of altering ancient authors, which is one of the greatest causes of the corruption of truth and learning. Therefore, it hath been thought fit to print the book according to the author’s own copy, but withall to give particular notice of some suspicious places, and of some manifest errors which follow, particularly expressed in the ensuing pages; referring the rest, if any there be, to the judgment of the reader. He lived where the scriptures were in no reputation; and, therefore, no marvel that he should speak so slightly of them; but rather, on the contrary, it may seem a marvellous thing in our ages to have a statesman in those parts at that time so far illuminated and taught of God as he was.—May it please the divine Goodness, that every reader may reap the like comfort and profit to his soul, as the translator and publisher humbly and thankfully acknowledge that they have done, and they have their main scope and aim in publishing it!”

Prefixed to “ The Considerations” is also an Address from Cælius Secundus Curio to the Reader, in which we have the following account of Valdesſo: “ These Considerations, as many well know, were first written by the author in the spanish language; but afterward, by a certain pious and worthy person, translated into Italian. Yet have they not been able altogether to quit those forms of speech which are proper to Spain.—John Valdesſo was by nation a Spaniard, of noble kindred, of an honourable degree, and a resplendent Chevalier of the Emperor, but a much more honourable and resplendent Chevalier of Christ. True it is, he did not much follow the court after that Christ had revealed himself to him; but abode in Italy, spending the greatest part of his life at Naples, where with the sweetness of his doctrine, and the sanctity of his life, he gained many disciples unto Christ; and especially among the gentlemen and cavaliers, and some ladies, he was very eminent and praiseworthy

book Mr. Herbert did read, and returned back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it: and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Ferrar.

This John Valdeffo was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles V. whom Valdeffo had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdeffo grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The Emperor had himself for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution: But God and himself did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore desire Valdeffo to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have

"worthy in all kinds of praise." It seemed that he was appointed by God for a teacher and pastor of noble and illustrious personages: although he was of such benignity and charity, that he accounted himself debtor of his talents to every rude and mean person, and became all things to all men, that he might gain all to Christ: and not this alone, but he gave light to some of the most famous preachers of Italy, which I very well know, having conversed with them themselves.

"He never had wife, but lived most continently; nor did he attend to ought else, as much as he could, than unto mortification, in which death overtaking him, he became perfectly mortified, so as to be perfectly quickened in the resurrection of the just, and to enjoy our Lord Christ. He died in Naples about the year 1540. He hath left behind also certain other good and pious compositions, which, as I hope, shall by Vergarius his means be communicated unto you."

Subjoined to "The Considerations" is an Epistle written by Valdeffo "to Lady Dona Julia de Gonzaga," to whom he dedicates "A Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans." It appears, that along with this Commentary he sent to her all St. Paul's Epistles, translated from the Greek into the ordinary Castilian language. He says, that he had before translated the Psalms of David from the original Hebrew, for her use; and he promises to furnish her with "*The History of Christ*," in the same language, "at such time and manner as it shall please the Divine Majesty."

Mr. Isaac Walton in his "Complete Angler," p. 26, introduces a remark of Valdeffo, whom he calls an ingenious Spaniard, "that rivers, and the inhabitants of the watery element, were made for wise men to contemplate, and fools to pass by without consideration."

have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse; which Valdeffo promised to do.

In the mean time, the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdeffo to meet again, and after a pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout friar to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life, which the friar did most affectionately. After which sermon, the Emperor took occasion to declare openly, "That the preacher had begot in him a resolution "to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself "to a monastical life". And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdeffo to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the Emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdeffo did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdeffo I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Ferrar: And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdeffo wrote his "Hundred and Ten Considerations," and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Ferrar to procure and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Ferrar and John Valdeffo, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him: and, therefore, their discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray give my brother Ferrar an account of the decaying condition "of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for "me: And let him know, that I have considered, *that God only is what he*

3 H.

"*would*:"

ⁿ Charles V. was desirous of expiating the many disorders of a life spent in continued wars, by devoting his last years to the service of God. He retired to the monastery of Saint Just, situated near Placentia, on the frontiers of Castile and Portugal. Is it not to be regretted that after his retirement he often expressed his sorrow for having observed *the safe conduct*, that he had formerly given to Luther, lamenting that he did not seize that reformer, to whom he had solemnly promised security? That bigotry must have been great indeed, which impelled a Christian Prince to lament that he had not violated the most sacred engagement.

“*would be*; and that I am, by his grace, become now so like him, as to be
 “pleased with what pleaseth him; and tell him, that I do not repine, but
 “am pleased with my want of health; and tell him my heart is fixed on
 “that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be
 “there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience.”—

Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him,
 bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, say
 to him, “Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, and
 “tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that
 “have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the
 “will of Jesus my Master; in whose service I have now found perfect free-
 “dom; desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the
 “advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let
 “him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God’s mercies.”—

Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now
 bears the name of “The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations;”
 of which Mr. Ferrar would say, “There was in it the picture of
 “a divine soul in every page; and that the whole book was such a har-
 “mony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and
 “piety.” And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than
 twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Ferrar sent this book to Cam-
 bridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means
 allow the two so much noted verses^o—

Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,
 Ready to pass to the American strand,

to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means allow the book to be
 printed

^o In “Peckard’s Memoirs,” &c. is inserted a prayer drawn up by Mr. Ferrar, on the parti-
 cular occasion of the dangerous illness of his dear friend, Mr. George Herbert.

“Religion stands on tiptoe on our land,
 “Ready to pass to the American strand.
 “When height of malice, and prodigious lusts,
 “Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distrusts,
 “The marks of future bane, shall fill our cup
 “Unto the brim, and make our measure up;

“When

printed and want them ; but after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice Chancellor said, " I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was " a divine poet ; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired " prophet, and therefore I license the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Ferrar hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death), his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the Bishop and Prebendaries of the cathedral church in Salisbury ; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay ; to whom he would often speak to this purpose : " I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content " I have taken in beauty, in wit, and music, and pleasant conversation, are " now all past by me like a dream or as a shadow that returns not, and are " now all become dead to me, or I to them ; and I see that as my father and " generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) " *make my bed also in the dark* ; and I praise God I am prepared for it ; and

3. H 2

" I praise

" When Sein shall swallow Tiber ; and the Thames,
 " By letting in them both, pollutes her streams ;
 " When Italy of us shall have her will,
 " And all her calendars of sins fulfil,
 " Whereby one may foretell what sins, next year,
 " Shall both in France and England domineer ;
 " Then shall Religion to America flee :
 " They have their times of gospel ev'n as we."

(Mr. Herbert's CHURCH MILITANT.)

It is unnecessary to remark the absurdity of supposing, that the productions of a prophet are contained in these lines of Mr. George Herbert.

“ I praise him, that I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need
 “ of it; and that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die
 “ daily, that I might not die eternally; and my hope is, that I shall shortly
 “ leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which
 “ will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the
 “ temptations and anxieties that attend it; and, this being past, I shall dwell
 “ in the New Jerusalem; dwell there with men made perfect; dwell where
 “ these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour Jesus; and with him see my
 “ dear mother, and all my relations and friends:—But I must die, or not
 “ come to that happy place: And this is my content, that I am going daily
 “ towards it; and that every day which I have lived hath taken a part of
 “ my appointed time from me; and that I shall live the less time, for
 “ having lived this and the day past.”——These, and the like expressions,
 which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven before
 he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his
 bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and
 said,

My God, my God,
 My music shall find thee,
 And ev'ry string
 Shall have his attribute to sing.

And having tuned it, he played and sung :

The Sundays of man's life,
 Threaded together on time's string,
 Make bracelets to adorn the wife
 Of the eternal glorious King :
 On Sundays heaven's door stands ope;
 Blessings are plentiful and rife,
 More plentiful than hope^a.

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels, and he,
 and Mr. Ferrar, now sing in heaven.

Thus

^a See the whole hymn entitled “ Sunday,” in Mr. Herbert’s “ Temple.”

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned; and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen." Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, saying, "They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise." After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and observed him to fall into a sudden agony, which so surprised her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did? to which his answer was, "that he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his Master Jesus." After which answer he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "if they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable." To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, Sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last-will, and give it into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to shew kindness to them, as they shall need it: I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise
to

to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die." After which words he said, "Lord, forsake me not, now my strength faileth me; but grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus. And now Lord—Lord, now receive my soul." And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes^r.

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation :

——All must to their cold graves;
But the religious actions of the just
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust^r.

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations. I have but this to say more of him, that if Andrew
Melvin.

^r Thus died Mr. George Herbert :——

"He taught us how to live; and ah, too high
"A price for knowledge! taught us how to die."

^r I am obliged to the ingenious author of "The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury," for pointing out the little poem entitled "Death's final Conquest," from which these lines were probably quoted. . It was originally intended for a solemn dirge, in a play composed by James Shirley, a dramatic writer, who flourished in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. and who died in 1666. It was a favourite song with Charles II.; and Oliver Cromwell is said, on the recital of it, to have been seized with great terror and agitation of mind. The following is the third and concluding stanza :

"The garlands wither on your brow;
"Then boast no more your mighty deeds:
"Upon Death's purple altar now
"See where the victor victim bleeds.
"All heads must come
"To the cold tomb:
"Only the actions of the just
"Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

Melvin died before him^t, then George Herbert died without an enemy^u.
I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

.IZ. WA.

THERE is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself and complaining that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart; but since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also." And she would often say (as the prophet David for his son Absalom) "O that I had died for him!" Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, Knight: And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would, even to him, often take occasion to mention

^t "Mr. George Herbert, Esq. Parson of Fugleston and Bemerton, was buried 3d day of March, 1632." (*Parish Register of Bemerton.*)—It does not appear whether he was buried in the parish church or in the chapel. His letter to Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, the translator of Valdesso, is dated from his parsonage at Bemerton, near Salisbury, Sep. 29, 1632. It must be remembered, that the beginning of the year, at that time, was computed from the 25th of March. In this year also, he wrote the short Address to the Reader, which is prefixed to his "Priest to the Temple," which was not published till after his death.

^u We cannot suppose that Andrew Melville could retain the least personal resentment against Mr. Herbert; whose letters have in them so little of the poignancy of satire, that it is scarce possible to consider them as capable of exciting the anger of him to whom they are addressed.

mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, "that name must live in her memory, till she put off mortality."—By Sir Robert, she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a grave-stone without any inscription.

This Lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public, but they and Highnam House were burnt together, by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity.

L. W.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.—No. I.

THE WORKS OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I. "ORATIO quâ auspiciatissimum serenissimi Principis CAROLI reditum ex Hispaniis celebravit GEORGIUS HERBERT, Academiæ Cantabrigienfis Orator. 1623."

A short extract from this oration may not be unacceptable to the classic reader.

"Scio Belli nomen splendidum esse et gloriosum. Dum animus grandis sui que impos triumphos et victorias quasi fræna ferox spumantia mandit; juvat micare gladio, et mucronem intueri.

"Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum

"Stringuntur aures; jam litui strepunt;

"Jam fulgor armorum fugaces

"Terret equos, equitumque vultus.

"Cum tamen splendida plerumque vitrea sint, claritatem fragilitate corrumpentia; neque de privato agamus bono, sed publico; certé fatendum est anteferendam bello pacem, sine quâ omnis vita procella, et mundus solitudo. Pace, filii sepeliunt patres; bello, patres filios: Pace, ægri sanantur; bello, etiam sani intereunt: Pace, securitas in agris est; bello, neque intra muros: Pace, avium cantus expergeficit; bello, tubæ ac tympana: Paxnovum orbem aperuit, bellum destruit veterem.

"Ειρηνη γεωργον και πετραις τριφει καλως,

"Πολεμος δε καν παιδιω κακος εφυ.

II. "A TRANSLATION of LEWIS CORNARO'S TREATISE on TEMPERANCE." Printed at Cambridge in 1634, along with Mr. Nicholas Ferrar's Translation of "The Hygiasticon, or the right Course of preserving Health, by Leonard Lessius." To Mr. Herbert's Translation is annexed "A Paradox, translated out of Italian, *That a more spare diet is better than a splendid or sumptuous.*"

III. "HERBERT'S REMAINS; or, Sundry Pieces of that sweet Singer of the Temple, Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, sometime Orator of the University of Cambridge, now exposed to public Light." London 1652.

This volume consists of—1. "A Priest to the Temple, or the Country Parson his Character and Rule of Holy Life; with a Prefatory View of the Life and Virtues of the Authour and Excellencies of this Book, by Barnabas Oley." In the second and subsequent impressions of

this volume is added, "A Preface to the Christian Reader," consisting of six paragraphs, by Mr. Oley. 2. "Jacula Prudentum; or Outlandish Proverbs, Sentences, &c. selected by Mr. George Herbert."

IV. "THE TEMPLE: SACRED POEMS and PRIVATE EJACULATIONS, by Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, late Orator of the University of Cambridge. *In his Temple doth every Man speak of his Honour*, Psal. xxix. Cambridge 1633." To Mr. Herbert's "Temple" has been usually annexed, a Collection of Poems, entitled "The Synagogue, or Shadow of the Temple." The author of "The Synagogue" is unknown. That he was a clergyman of the Church of England, appears from Mr. Isaac Walton's verses to him. Mr. Granger has ascribed it to Crashaw, whom Cowley has praised, and Pope has imitated; but whose compositions are infinitely superior to any thing in this work. He has probably been led into this error from one part of Crashaw's volume of poems, bearing the title of "Steps to the Temple." That it was not written by Crashaw, is evident from this circumstance: After his conversion to Popery, he led a most miserable life abroad, and going to Italy was at length appointed a Canon or Chaplain of Loretto, where he died in 1650.

"The Synagogue" was not published till after that period: And Walton expressly tells us, that he "loved the author for his sacred poetry before he personally knew him; and that now, since his personal knowledge of him, he loves him more.

"I lov'd you for your Synagogue before

"I knew your person; but now love you more,"

"Because I find

"It is so true a picture of your mind."

That it was actually written by Mr. Christopher Hervey, I have attempted to prove in another place.

It has been already noticed, that his Epigrams on Andrew Melville, entitled "Musa Responsorie ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam Ex officinâ Joh. Field, Cantab. 1662," 12m^o, are inserted in the "Ecclesiastes Solomonis," &c. published by Dr. James Duport.

During his residence at Cambridge, he composed Latin poems on the death of Henry Prince of Wales; and of Anne, Queen to James I. See "Epicedium Cantabrigiense in obitum immaturum semperque desolendum Henrici illustrissimi Principis Walliæ. Cantab. 1612." And "Lachrymæ Cantabrigienses in obitum serenissimæ Reginæ Annæ, Conjugis dilectissimæ Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis. Cantab. 1619."

The following letters, written by Mr. Herbert, when he was Public Orator, are in the Orator's Book at Cambridge:

1. "To Sir Robert Naunton, with thanks for some acts of kindness procured by him from government to the university."

2. "To Fulk Greville, on the same account."

3. "To George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, on his being created a Marquis."

4. "To

4. "To Sir Francis Bacon, with thanks for his *Novum Organum*."
 5. "To Sir Thomas Coventry, Attorney-General,"
 6. "To Montagu, Lord Treasurer," and
 7. "To Sir Robert Heath, Solicitor-General, congratulating them on their several promotions."
 8. "To King James, with thanks for a present of his *Doron Basilicon*."
 9. "To the same, with thanks for the preservation of the river."
 10. "To Sir Francis Bacon, on the same subject."
 11. "To Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, against the London Printers monopolizing foreign books."
 12. "To Sir Francis Bacon, on the same subject."
 13. "To Leigh, Chief Justice, on his promotion."
 14. "To Cranfield, Lord Treasurer, on the same occasion."
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NO apology is deemed necessary for the insertion of the annexed Letters. The intimacy which subsisted between Sir Francis Bacon and Mr. Herbert is well known: And the subject which gave occasion to the epistle addressed to James I. is mentioned in Walton's Life of Mr. Herbert, p. 336.

"GRATIÆ DE INSTAURATIONIS LIBRO ACADEMIÆ DONATO, 4TO. NOV 1620.

"ILLUSTRISIME DOMINE,

"PROLEM tuam suavissimam nuper in lucem publicam nostramque præfertim editam, non
 "gremio solum (quod innuis) sed et ambabus ulnis osculisque ei ætati debitis excipientes
 "protinus tanquam nobilem Filium (more nostro) Magistrum Artium renunciavimus.
 "Optimè enim hoc convenit partui tuo, qui novas scientiarum regiones terrasque veteribus
 "incognitas primus demonstrat, ex quo illustrius affecutus es nomen, quam repertoires Novi
 "Orbis compararunt. Illi terram invenerunt, crassissimum elementum; Tu subtilitates
 "Artium infinitas. Illi barbara omnia, Tu non nisi cultissima, elegantiasque ipsas exhibes.
 "Illi magneticâ acu freti sunt; Tu penetrantiori intellectûs acumine; cujus nisi incredibilis
 "fuisset vis, nunquam in tantis negotiis, quibus meritissime districtus es, ea, quæ fugerunt
 "tot Philosophos umbrâ et otio disfluentes, eruisses. Quare multiplex est lætitia nostra;
 "primo, gratulamur optimo Regi nostro; qui prospicit, ut, cum ipse eruditionis princeps sit, illi
 "etiam honores qui finitimi sunt et quasi accolæ Majestatis, literaturæ suæ et vicinitati

“ respondeant; dein, honori tuo gratulamur; qui Filio auctus es tali ingenio predito: Tum,
 “ Academiæ nostræ; quæ per tuum partum ex Matre nunc Avia facta est: Denique, huic
 “ ætati; quæ talem virum protulit cum quinque millibus annorum de Palmâ certantem. Id
 “ unum dolemus, Bibliothecam nostram rudiores esse implexioresque quam ut tantum
 “ hospitem excipiat: Utcunque cum olim ab Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, summo Angliæ
 “ Cancellario extracta fuerit, illum nunc denuo ex Ædibus Eboracensibus ab altero Cancel-
 “ lario INSTAURARI, inter arcana Providentiæ planè reponimus. Faxit Deus, ut, quos pro-
 “ fectus feceris in Sphærâ Naturæ, facias etiam in Gratia; utque maturè absolvas quæ
 “ complexus es animo ad ejus gloriam, reipublicæ emolumentum, æternitatem nominis tui,
 “ subsidiumque

“ Magnificentia tuæ deditissimorum

“ Procancellarii, Reliq. Senat. Acad.”

SERENISSIME DOMINE NOSTER JACOBE INVICTISSIME,

“ ECQUID inter tantas mundi trepidationes nobis et musis vacas? Oh! prudentiam incom-
 “ parabilem, quæ eodem vultu et moderatur mundum, et nos respicit. Circumspice, si placet,
 “ terrarum Reges, mutus est mundus universus; vestra solùm dextra (quamvis a scriptione
 “ terrestribusque istis sublimitate folii asserta) vitâ et actione orbem vegetat.

“ Angustior erat Scotia quam ut pennas nido plenè explicare posses: Quid Tu inde?
 “ Britannicas insulas omnes occupasti. Hoc etiam imperium tenuius est quam pro amplitu-
 “ dine virtutum vestrarum: Nunc itaque Liber hic vester dilatat pomæria, summovet
 “ oceanum ambientem: Adeo ut qui non subjiuntur ditioni, eruditioni vestræ obtemperent.
 “ Per hunc imperas orbi universo, victoriæque gloriam absque crudelitate effusi sanguinis
 “ delibas. Hæc vestra spolia, actosque ex orbe triumphos communicas cum Almâ Matre;
 “ utrumque splendorem cum beneficio nostro conjungis. Sanè gestabaris antea in cordibus
 “ nostris; sed Tu vis etiam manibus teri, semotâque Majestate, chartâ conspiciendum Te
 “ præbes, quo familiarius inter nos verferis. O mirificam clementiam! Ædificarunt olim
 “ nobis Serenissimi Reges collegia, eaque fundarunt amplissimis prædiis, immunitatibus:
 “ Etiam libros dederunt, sed non suos; aut si suos, quia dederunt; non à se compositos,
 “ scriptos, editosque: Quam tamen Tu invaseris eorum gloriam, conservando nobis quæ illi
 “ dederunt, atque etiam augendo; vestrâ interim hâc scribendi laude intactâ manente atque
 “ illibatâ. Cujus favoris magnitudo ita involvit nos, ut etiam rependendi vias omnes præclu-
 “ dat. Quæ enim alia spes reliqua erat, quam ut pro infinitis vestris in nos beneficiis,
 “ Majestatem vestram æternitati in scriptis nostris certissimè traderemus? Nunc vero Ipse
 “ scribendo irrupisti in compensationes nostras, et abstulisti. Adeone es prædo omnis gloriæ,
 “ ut ne gratitudinis laudem nobis reliqueris? Quid agimus? Hoc saltem solatio est. Nos
 “ nunc conspersi atramento Regis, nihil non sublime et excelsum cogitabimus, perumpemus
 “ controversias

“controversias omnes, superabimus quoscunque. Jam dari nobis vellemus Jesuitam aliquem,
 “ut ex affricu Libri Vestri, hominem illicò contundamus. Quare complectimur, fovemus,
 “exosculamur hunc Foetum Vestrum, hunc alterum Carolum, hunc fasciculum pru-
 “dentiae, positum extra mortalitatis aleam, et quo magis Tuum agnoscas, in ipso partu,
 “Librorum Regem creatum. Diruuntur aedificia, corrumpuntur statuæ; hæc imago
 “atque character tempore melior, injurias seculi, scriptaque hâc illâc pereuntia, securius
 “præterit. Si enim in Regno Vestro Hibernico lignum nascitur permanens contra
 “omnia venena validum; quanto magis virtutes istæ in Dominum Agri transferendæ sunt,
 “ut sic Scripta Vestra omni dente tum edacis temporis, tum venenatorum Hæreticorum,
 “instita vi suâ liberentur. Quod superest, precamur S. S. Trinitatem, ut Vestræ Coronæ
 “civili et literariæ, tertiam cœlestem serò adjungat.

“Humillimi Servi

“Datæ freq. Senatu,

“Subditique Vestri,

“XIII^o. Cal. Jun. A. D.

“Procancellarius,

“MDCXX.

“Reliquisque Senatus

“Cantabrigienfis.

“Peregrinis Academiam nostram invisentibus.

“Quid Vaticanam, Bodleiumque objicis, Hospes?

“Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.”

APPENDIX.—No. II.

ANDREW MELVIN, OR RATHER MELVILLE*,

BORN on the first day of August, 1545, was the youngest of nine sons of Richard Melville, of Baldowie, in North Britain: These sons were all alive, when their father fell in the vanguard of the battle of Pinkie, on the tenth of September, 1547. Andrew was “a fickle tender boy, and took pleasure in nothing so meikle as his book.” Having been instructed in the Greek language by Petrus Marfiliers, a Frenchman and teacher of the Greek grammar, and by “that notable instrument in the kirk, John Erskine, of Don, of most honourable and happy memory, he profited so, that entering thereafter in the course of philosophie within the universitie of St. Andrew’s, all that was teacht of Aristotle he learned, and studied it out of the Greek text, whilk his masters understood not.” He past his course in the new college, “tenderly beloved be Mr. John Douglas, provost of that college, and, rector of the universitie, who would often take him between his legs at the fire in winter, and warm his hands and cheeks, and blessing him, say, ‘*My fillie fatherless and motherless child, it’s ill to wit what God may make of thee yet.*’” Sa ending his course of philosophie he left the universitie of St. Andrew’s with the commendation of the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of any young master of the land, and with all possible diligence made his preparation, and passed over to France.” He resided two years in the university of Paris, hearing the lights of the most shining age, and particularly Peter Ramus, in philosophy and eloquence. He became so expert in Greek, that he declaimed and taught lessons, “uttering never a word but Greek with sic readines and plenty, as was marvellous to the hearers.” From Paris he went to Poictiers, where he regented in the college of St. Marcian three years, hearing the best lawyers, yet always making theology his principal study, to which he was dedicated from his earliest youth.

From Poictiers he went to Geneva, carrying nothing with him but a little Hebrew bible at his belt. He travelled on foot, as he had done before, from Dieppe to Paris, and thence to Poictiers; for he was small and light of body, but full of spirits, vigorous, and courageous. Theodore Beza, to whom he was strongly recommended by letters, soon discovered him to be a scholar, and appointed him Professor of Humanity in the college of Geneva. Mr. Melville continued at this place five years, attending the daily lessons and preachings of Beza. He improved the opportunity of perfecting himself in Hebrew literature. He often disputed with

* Many particulars are inserted in this memoir, on the authority of Mr. James Melville’s Diary in MS. in the Advocate’s Library at Edinburgh.

with the Greek professor, a native of Greece, on the right pronunciation of the Greek language^b. The professor pronounced it after the common form, observing the accents, “the” while Mr. Andro controlled by precepts and reason, till the Greek would grow angry, and “cry out, ‘*Vos Scoti, vos barbari docebitis nos Græcos pronuntiationem linguæ nostræ scilicet!*’”

When he was invited to return home, Beza, in a letter addressed to the general kirk of Scotland, declared, that, as the greatest token of affection the members of the kirk of Geneva could shew to that of Scotland, they had suffered themselves to be spoiled of Mr. Andrew Melville.

In 1574, he was elected the principal master of the university of Glasgow, where he taught the best Greek and Latin authors, natural philosophy, chronology, chirography^c, besides his ordinary profession, the holy tongue and theology.

In the same year he was directed, at the General Assembly, to deliver his opinion upon the jurisdiction and policy of the kirk, before the next Assembly, along with others appointed for that purpose. During a period of five or six years this matter cost him great pains “in mind, body, and gear;” while it exposed him to the resentment of the regent and the episcopal party, which he bore with singular patience, until he fully accomplished his plan for the establishment of presbyteries.

In 1578, in the assembly held in Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh, in the month of April, he was chosen Moderator. It was there concluded, that the bishops should be called by their own names, and that lordly authority should be banished from the kirk “while has-but-an” “Lord, Christ Jesus.”

Being accused of “oversea dreams” and Geneva discipline, and of disturbing the peace of the kirk, by the regent, who said, “There never will be quietness or peace in the country, till half a dozen of you be hanged.” “Tush! Sir,” says Mr. Andrew, “*purpuratis tuis ista minitare: mihi idem est humine, an sublimi putrescam. Domini est terra: patria est ubicunque est bona.* I have been ready to give my life, where it was not half so well wared, at the pleasure of my God. I lived out o’ your country ten years, as well as in it: let God be glorified; it will not lie in your power to hang or exile his truth.”

In 1580, he was accompanied by several of his friends to Lundey, and with the Laird thereof to St. Andrew’s, where he was entered Principal of the college, and was kindly welcomed by his friend Mr. Patrick Adamson, the bishop, for whom he often officiated in the kirk.

^b Sir Thomas Smith and his friend Mr. Cheke, introduced at Cambridge the new mode of pronouncing the Greek language. While the former was once at Paris, he made a visit to a learned Greek, a courteous and affable man. His chief business was to be satisfied from him what sounds the Grecians themselves did use in Greece. And when Smith began to speak of the new way, the Greek grew angry, and called Erasmus *Badin*, that he, being a Dutchman, had brought into Greece, whence he was sprung, such *vast* sounds, as he expressed himself, and absonous diphthongs. (*Strype’s Life of Sir John Smith*, p. 23.)

^c In this art he excelled. He has addressed a Latin epigram to Mrs. Esther Inglis, who was noted for her beautiful hand-writing, and who surpassed Ascham, Davies, and others eminent for that extraordinary talent.

kirk. His zeal for introducing a new mode of academical education met with much opposition, all which he vanquished; so that the regents in philosophy came over to his opinions, and acknowledged their wonderful transportation from darkness to light. He sustained every attack upon him with undaunted fortitude; and the punishments, with which he was menaced, not unfrequently fell upon his adversaries.

In 1581, he attended the General Assembly at Glasgow, where the book of policy, after a labour of many years, was ratified, and ordered to be recorded.

In 1583, he appeared before the king, at Edinburgh, to answer an accusation of uttering treasonable and seditious speeches from the pulpit. He was accompanied on this occasion, with some of his scholars and friends. As no criminal charge was brought against him, he declined the judicature of the king and council. He plainly told them, that they had no power to control the ambassadors and messengers of a king and council greater than they were. "And that," says he, "you may see your weakness, oversight, and rashness, in taking upon you that which ye neither ought nor can do," (loosing a little Hebrew bible from his belt, and throwing it down on the board) "there is my instructions and warrant: let's see whilk of you can judge thereon, or controlle me therein, that I have past my injunctions." The chancellor, opening the book, finds it to be Hebrew, and puts it into the king's right hand, saying, "Sir, he scorns your Majesty and council." "Nay," says Mr. Andrew, "I scorn not, but with all earnestness, zeal, and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ, and the kirk." He was at length ordered to be put in ward in the Castle of Edinburgh, during the king's will. And when it was known that the place of his confinement was changed to Blackness, he followed the advice of his friends, and fled to Berwick, and afterwards took refuge in England.

Upon this occasion, "the pulpits of Scotland," as Dr. Robertson informs us, "refounded with complaints, that the king had extinguished the light of learning in the kingdom, and deprived the church of the ablest and most faithful guardian of its liberties and discipline."

In 1587, we find him resident in the university of St. Andrew's; for in that year the celebrated Sieur du Bartas came into Scotland to attend his lectures.

In 1591, Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Travers, the great defenders of Puritanism in England, were invited to be Divinity Professors in his university. It must be owned, that in the elegant letter addressed to them, on this occasion, which was probably penned by Mr. Melville himself, there is an acrimony of language perfectly inexcusable^d. His inveterate opposition to the discipline of the church of England has betrayed the writer into the use of the most opprobrious terms.

In 1599, the king published the "Doron Basilicon," addressed to his son, Prince Henry. Sir James Semple, one of his Majesty's servants, having transcribed that treatise, shewed it to Andrew Melville, his intimate friend, who reading it, was offended with some passages that regarded

^d This letter is inserted in "Fuller's Ch. History," B. ix. Sect. vii. p. 52.

regarded the ministry and discipline of the kirk. Melville took copies of the book, and dispersed them among the ministers, some of whom preferred a libel to the Synod of St. Andrew's, wherein the exceptionable passages being set down, it was asked, "*What censure should be inflicted on him, that had given such instructions to the Prince, and if he could be thought well-affected to religion, that had delivered such precepts of government?*"

To vindicate himself, on this occasion, the King determined to publish the work, "which being come abroad, and carried to England, it cannot be said how well the same was accepted, and what an admiration it raised in all men's hearts of him, and of his piety and wisdom."

I omit several circumstances of his life, which are mentioned in "*Calderwood's History of Scotland.*" Mr. Melville was present at a conference at Hampton Court, in 1606. As he was esteemed one of the most learned men of his time, the King principally dreaded his influence, in resisting his favourite plan for the establishment of Episcopacy. He had been confined some years before, by a royal warrant, within his own house, at St. Andrews; and in 1606 was invited to the English court, along with some other ministers, under the pretence of holding an amicable conference. It has been conjectured, that the only motive for this invitation was to relieve the Scotch bishops from the opposition, which they had reason to expect from Melville's personal zeal and splendid abilities.

The behaviour of Mr. Melville during the conference afforded no pretext for detaining him in England^e. Another expedient succeeded. Melville and his companions were invited to attend the royal chapel on the Lord's day, when the King and Queen received the sacrament, according to the usage of the Church of England. It was natural to suppose that a view of those rites and ceremonies, against which Andrew Melville had always warmly contended, would have produced a considerable effect upon his temper. But he allowed nothing to escape him in public which could give the least offence. On his return from his lodgings, he amused himself with writing some Latin verses on the decorations of the altar^f. They were shewn to

3 K

James

^e James appointed four divines of the Church of England to attend during this conference; and to preach, by turns, on the subjects proposed to them. Dr. William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, endeavoured, from *Acts* xx. 28, to prove out of the Scripture and Fathers the supremacy of bishops above presbyters, and to shew the inconveniences of parity in the church. Dr. Buckridge, then President of St. John's College, Oxford, and afterward Bishop of Rochester, took for his text the precept of the apostle, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," *Rom.* xiii. 11.; "where," says Spotwood, "falling to speak of the King's supremacy, in causes ecclesiastical, he did handle that point both soundly and learnedly, to the satisfaction of all the hearers: only it grieved the Scots ministers to hear the Pope and Presbyterie so often equalled in their opposition to sovereign princes." Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, followed, who, from the first verses of *Numbers* x. confirmed the power of kings in convocating synods and councils. The fourth was Dr. King, then Dean of Christ-church, and afterward Bishop of London, who, discoursing on the 11th verse of the eighth chapter of *Canticles*, did prove lay-elders to have no place, nor office in the Church. See "*Spotwood's History,*" &c. B. VII.

^f Fuller in his "*Church History of Britain,*" B. X. Sect. iv. 41, has preserved a copy of these verses, which Archbishop Spotwood calls "scornful and bitter:—"

James Melville, his uncle, and perhaps to some other ministers. The King obtained a copy, and Mr. Andrew Melville was brought before the King's council, along with Mr. James Melville, and Mr. Wallace, another of the ministers, to answer for the verses, which the council affirmed to be "a Pasquill, tending to the dishonour of God, and scandal of the Church of England." He acknowledged himself to be the author; though as they had never been given out of his hand, he could not discover how they came into the possession of the council. His two companions were dismissed, while he was taken into custody, and delivered over to the Dean of St. Paul's, in whose house he remained as a prisoner, till the 9th of March 1607^s, when he was ordered to be sent to the Bishop of Winchester's. This order however was not executed, and he was permitted to live in his own lodgings. On the 6th of April following he appeared again before the council, and after a long examination was sent by water to the Tower, where he was confined upwards of four years. When the other ministers were allowed to return to their own country, no persuasion whatever could prevail upon the King to release Andrew Melville. His office of Principal, or Provost, of the New College of St. Andrew's, was declared vacant by Gladstones, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who convened the university, and told them that it was his Majesty's pleasure, "that Mr. Robert Lourie should be placed Provost in that College, Mr. Andrew Melville being, *for treasonable words*, put in "the Tower of London." The university in vain protested against this proceeding.

He had been two years in the Tower, when Bishop Coupar and Archbishop Spotswood were sent to persuade him to make an acknowledgment to the King, which they gave him reason to hope would procure his liberty. He delivered to them a written apology in Latin, in

" Quod duo stent libri clausi Anglis regiâ in ARA,

" Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo:

" An clausum cæcumque Dei tenet Anglia cultum

" Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta suâ?

" Romano et ritu, dum regalem instruit ARAM,

" Purpuream pingit luxuriosa lupam?

* "Whereas, one Andrew Melville, a minister of Scotland, hath by his Majesty's commandment been called before us, at the council-board, where he hath confessed himself to be the author of some certain verses, or rather a Pasquill, tending to the dishonour of God, and scandal of the Church of England, for which his great offence he has been censured to be restrained of his liberty, until such further proceeding shall be taken with him, as shall seem good unto us, in such a case as this is, and by impunity may prove to be.—You shall hereby understand, that his Majesty hath made choice of you for the present to receive him in your custody. Wherefore, in his Majesty's name and authority, we require you forthwith to receive him accordingly to remain at your house at Paul's, not suffering any to have access to him, until his Majesty's further pleasure herein to you be signified.—It is also thought convenient, that yourself do at all convenient times confer with him on such points as you shall find him differing from the Church established, for his better satisfaction and conformity, wherein by your good endeavours you may deserve well of his Majesty, and us," &c. &c.

The above warrant, dated Nov. 30, 1606, is addressed to the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. John Overhal, afterward Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.

in which he affirmed, that the verses were taken from him without his knowledge, and that they were afterward mutilated. He asked pardon for any expressions that might have escaped him during his examination, which could be thought disrespectful to his Majesty, to the council, or to the state of England, and in general made as ample an acknowledgment as could be made without renouncing the principles which he held. The two prelates appeared to be satisfied therewith, while the King remained inexorable. He continued two years more in the Tower, and employed himself in writing several tracts, chiefly on the controversies of the times, and many Latin Poems, which have been since printed in the "*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*." Amst. 2 vol. 12mo, 1637.

In short, after much persecution, when it was well known that he could never obtain leave to return into Scotland, the Duke of Bouillon, who was at the head of the Protestants in France, and who still possessed the principality of Sedan, obtained the King's permission for him to go to Sedan, and to settle there, as Professor of Divinity. He left England at the end of the year 1611, or at the beginning of 1612. He taught divinity at Sedan, for nine years, with very singular reputation; and acquired much respect and celebrity among the foreign divines. He died there in 1621.

It is not within my province to arraign the conduct of James for his great severity thus exercised against Andrew Melville. It must, however, be observed, that the usage of the Kirk of Scotland to their King was so cruel and tyrannical, that it was not very easy for him, when once emancipated from their power, to forget that usage.

The learning and abilities of Mr. Melville were equalled only by the purity of his manners, and the sanctity of his life. His temper was warm and violent; his carriage and zeal perfectly suited to the times in which he lived. The discipline of the Church of Scotland was in a great measure framed by him; and to him the Scots are very considerably indebted for their present ecclesiastical constitution. Archbishop Spotswood is unfriendly to his memory. Bishop Burnet observes, that though Spotswood relates with truth the opposition, and even the rude treatment which the King received from assemblies, and from particular persons, he generally suppresses the provocations which were given, and the circumstances which would have explained, and, perhaps, in some degree, have extenuated their conduct. "He was," says Dr. Robertson (*Hist. of Scotland, B. VI.*), "a man distinguished by his uncommon erudition, by the severity of his manners, and the intrepidity of his mind. But, bred up in the retirement of a college, he was unacquainted with the arts of life, and being more attentive to the ends which he pursued, than to the means which he employed for promoting them, he often defeated laudable designs by the impetuosity and imprudence with which he carried them on." He seems to have been treated by his adversaries with much asperity.—Others besides Mr. George Herbert exercised their talents against him. Anthony Wood names Mr. Thomas Atkinson, B. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, as having written "*Andrei Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria*," and "*Melvinus delirans in Iambis*." Indeed, our English writers seldom speak of him favourably. The following lines, allusive to his name, are said to have been written by Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln:

Cor tibi felle nigrum est, et aceto lingua redundat;
Ex MELLE et VINO quam malè nomen habes!

And the learned James Duport has not disdained to make the same allusion:

In Andream Melvinum, Scotum, de suâ Anti-Tami-
Cami-Categoriâ, Sapphico versu conscriptâ.
Quam Smeetymnuo es affinis, vox sesquipedalis,
O Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria.
Utraque sic tibi, Scote, Anglorum Academia fordet?
Nec CAMUS purâ aut TAMUS abundat aquâ?
Utraque schismatis hostis atrox, et malleus ingens,
Cui tu patronum te clypeumque geris.
Quâ nec sub sole est ecclesia clarius ulla,
Castior in terris Sponsa nec ulla Dei,
Hanc tu, Scote dicax, satyrâ proscindis amarâ;
Acribus et fânnis, sconumatibusque petis?
At pius HERBERTUS tua plumbea tela retorfit.
Nil addo: tantum hæc nostra coronis erit.
Liræ sunt apinæque, lyrâ quas fundis, inanes:
Lascivum et prodit Sapphica musa caput.
Qui non MEL sed FEL, non VINUM das, sed ACETUM,
Quam malè tam belli nominis onien habes!

Let it not, however, be inferred from these versès, that Andrew Melville always fought to dip his pen in gall; that he was principally delighted with the severity of satire and invective. He occasionally diverted his muse to the subject of just panegyric. In many of his epigrams he has celebrated the literary attainments of his contemporaries. He has endeared his name to posterity by his encomium on the profound learning of the two Scaligers, and the classic elegance of Buchanan, his preceptor, and the parent of the Muses^b. His Latin paraphrase of the Song of Moses is truly excellent. It is inscribed to James VI. whom he styles a boy:

Sancte

^b George Buchanan is celebrated by Julius Cæsar Scaliger, by Joseph Scaliger, by Turnebus, by Beza, and other foreigners, as a prodigy of learning:—"Buchananum omnibus antepono—Haddonum nemini postpono," were the expressions of Queen Elizabeth. His works are fraught with all the beauty and elegance of classic antiquity. He finished the greatest part of his incomparable version of the Psalms when in a state of confinement, at a monastery in Portugal, under the care of certain monks, who were directed to instruct him in the principles of religion, and whom he characterises as men of great humanity, and goodness; but totally ignorant of divinity—"Omnis religionis ignari. Prefixed to his Poems is a short "History of his Life," written by himself. The following anecdote is extracted from the Diary of Mr. James Melville:

"Sept. 1582.—During the vacance my uncle, Mr. Andrew, Principal of the New College, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Provost of Kilkaldie, and I, hearing that Maister George Buchanan was weakly, and his History in

"the

Sancte Puer, cape sacra mææ primordia Musæ,
 Non secus ac grati prima elementa animi:
 Parva quidem tanto fateor munuscula regi;
 Parva, sed immensū munere magna Dei.

Of the exordium, and, indeed, of the whole poem, it may be pronounced, that they perfectly correspond to the character which Isaac Walton gives of his poetic genius:

Vos æterni ignes, et conscia lumina mundi,
 Palentasque polo flammæ¹, vosque humida regna,
 Aerique super tractus, campique jacentes,
 Et cælum et tellus (ego vos nunc alloquar), aures
 Arrigite, et celsas dicenti advertite mentes.

The following lines are exquisitely beautiful:—See *Deut.* xxxii. 10, 11.—

—————ceū pupula, cornu
 Quam vitreo murus cingit chrySTALLINUS; et quam,
 Non secus ac vallo, teneri munimen ocelli
 Sepsit utrinque pilis, celsâque crepidine surgunt
 Hinc atque hinc geminæ, duo propugnacula, moles,
 Ut bene tuta cava condantur lumina in orbes^k.

Ac veluti alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis
 Armiger implumes et adhuc sine robore nidos
 Sollicitâ refovet curâ, pinguisque ferinæ
 Indulget^l pastus: mox ut cum viribus alæ
 Vesticipes crevère, vocat si blandior aura,
 Expansâ invitat plumâ, dorsoque morantes
 Excipit attollitque humeris, plausuque secundo
 Fertur in arva, timens oneri natat impete presso,
 Remigium lentans alarum, incurvaque pinnis

Vela

“ the press, passed over to Edenburgh anes eirand to visit him, and to see the wark. Whan we cam to his chalm-
 “ ber we found him sitting in his chaire, teaching his young man, that served him in his chalmber, to spell AB,
 “ EB, IB, &c.—After salutation, Mr. Andrew says, ‘ I see, Sir, you are not idle.’ ‘ Better this (quoth hee)
 “ ‘ than stealing theipe, or sitting idle, whilk is als ill.’ ”

^l “ And ye five other wand’ring fires that move
 “ In mystic dance, not without song—————

MILT. PAR. LOST, B. V. 177.

^k This description of the eye seems to be taken from “ Cicero de Natura Deorum.” L. II. 57.

“ Munitæ sunt palpebræ tanquam vallo pilorum.”

Vela legens, humiles tranat sub nubibus oras.
 Hinc sensim supera alta petit ; jam jamque sub astra
 Erigitur curfusque leves citus urget in auras.
 Omnia pervolitans laté loca et agmine foetus
 Fertque refertque suos vario, moremque volandi
 Addocet : illi autem, longâ assuetudine docti,
 Paulatim incipiunt pennis se credere coelo
 Impavidi : tantum a teneris valet addere curam.

THE

 ERRATA.

Page 324, line 17,—Catala, *read* Cabala.
 — 335, — 14,—Jacobale, *read* Jacobule.
 — 387, — 34,—productions, *read* predictions.
 — 391, — 28,—letters, *read* verses.
 — 405, — 8,—Palentasque, *read* Palantesque.

THE LIFE

OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.



D^r. ROBERT SANDERSON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND-HONOURABLE

GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, PRELATE OF THE GARTER,
AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

IF I should undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordship, I should enter upon an employment that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend, Dr. Sanderson: But though I will not venture to do that, yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your Lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth^a, and Dr. Hammond; men whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

3 L

My

^a Mr. Isaac Walton was honoured with the friendship of Mr. Chillingworth, the glory of his age and nation. This memorable man, who, with Lord Falkland, was proverbially celebrated at Oxford for his clear and acute reasoning, found himself so bewildered in the mazes of controversy, that he became a convert to Popery. From the errors of "An Infallible Church," the sound argumentation of Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, happily restored him. Of the effect which the perusal of his immortal work, "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation," wrought upon the mind of Dr. Tillotson, see Birch's Life of that prelate, p. 5.—Of the death of Mr. Chillingworth, see "Kenner's Hist. of England," Vol. III. p. 144.

My friendship with the first was begun almost forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire to out-live him; and farther from an intention to write his Life: But the wise Disposer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the first, and now permitted the last; which is here dedicated to your Lordship (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a desire that it may remain as a public testimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,

Your most affectionate old friend,

And most humble servant,

IZAACK WALTON.

THE

THE PREFACE.

I DARE neither think, nor assure the Reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderfon; but am sure, there is none that are either wilful or very material. I confess, it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity as to undertake it: For as it may be noted, that our Saviour had a care, that for Mary Magdalen's kindness to him, her name should never be forgotten: So I conceive the great satisfaction many scholars have already had, and the unborn world is like to have, by his exact, clear, and useful learning; and might have by a true narrative of his matchless meekness, his calm fortitude, and the innocence of his whole life, doth justly challenge the like from this present age, that posterity may not be ignorant of them: And it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from that) but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This being premised, I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say, what I think he (whom I had the happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasions; and if I have been too bold in doing so, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me, yet I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions to undertake it, and so many willing informers since, and from them and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint, and weary of the burden with which I had loaden myself, and sometime ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and here presented to the reader, and with it, this desire, that he will take notice that Dr. Sanderfon did in his will or last sickness advertise, that after his death nothing of his might be printed; because that might be said to be his, which indeed was not; and

also, for that he might have changed his opinion since he first wrote it, as it is thought he has since he wrote his "Pax Ecclesiæ." And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in his "Case of Conscience concerning rash Vows," that there may appear very good second reasons why we may forbear to perform them. However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do apocryphal scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more; that as in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderfon's Life, I met with these little tracts annexed^b; so in my former queries for my information to write the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the reader. It is affirmed (and I have met with reason to believe it) that there be some artists, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy, and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn: And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs, is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderfon.

And lastly, the trouble being now past, I look back and am glad that I have collected these memoirs of this humble man, which lay scattered, and contracted them into a narrow compass; and, if I have, by the pleasant toil of so doing, either pleased or profited any man, I have attained what I designed when I first undertook it: But I seriously wish, both for the reader's and Dr. Sanderfon's sake, that posterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by such a pen, as could have made his life as immortal as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

^b In the first edition of Mr. Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderfon, printed in octavo, 1678, were added the following tracts. 1. "Bishop Sanderfon's Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers." 2. "Pax Ecclesiæ." 3. "Bishop Sanderfon's Judgment in one view for the Settlement of the Church." 4. "Reasons of the Present Judgment of the University of Oxford, concerning the Solemn League and Covenants," &c. And also a Sermon of Richard Hooker, upon Prayer, from *Matt. vii.* 7. found in the study of Bishop Andrews.

THE LIFE OF DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose Life I intend to write with all truth, and equal plainness, was born the 19th day of September, in the year of our redemption 1587: The place of his birth was Rotherham in the county of York^c, a town of good note, and the more, for that Thomas Rotherham^d, sometime Archbishop of that

^c It appeared from the Register of the Parish of Sheffield in Yorkshire, that he was baptized in the church of Sheffield, Sept. 20, 1587. (*Dr. Brown Willis.*)

^d Thomas Scot, Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, was afterward Master of Pembroke Hall, and in 1483 and 1484, Chancellor of the University. He obtained great ecclesiastical preferment, being successively Provost of Beverley, Bishop of Rochester and of Lincoln, and lastly Archbishop of York. Nor was he less adorned with civil honours, having been appointed, first, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and then Lord Chancellor of England.

During the reign of Edward IV. were founded the collegiate churches of Middleham and Rotherham, in the county of York. The latter originally consisted of one master, three fellows and six scholars, and was founded and most liberally endowed by Thomas Archbishop of York, from 1480 to 1501. He has assigned the reason that induced him to adopt that number, "ut ubi offendi Deum in decem præceptis suis, isti decem orarent pro me." To this college were annexed three schools for instructing boys in writing, grammar, and music. "These schools," says Mr. Camden, "are now suppressed by the wicked avarice of the age." This Prelate changed his family name of *Scot*, for that of *Rotherham*, the supposed place of his birth. It was usual for the clergy to add the names of the places of their nativity to their Christian names, and such an addition affords the best evidence of the places where they were born. And it is remarked, that this Thomas Scot is the last clergyman who is known to have observed this custom. He afterward augmented the college of Rotherham with five priests. His munificence is amply displayed both at Oxford and Cambridge. In the latter university he built the library, and a considerable part of the schools: and while he was Bishop of Lincoln, he completed the buildings of Lincoln College in Oxford, and furnished the society with a body of statutes, subscribed with his own hand, Feb. 11, 1479. He died of the plague, at his palace of Cawood, in 1501.

that see, was born in it : a man whose great wisdom, and bounty, and sanctity of life gave a denomination to it, or hath made it the more memorable, as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderfon. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great sanctity, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderfon, of Gilthwaite-hall^e, in the said parish and county, Esq. by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butterthwaite-hall, in the parish of Ecclesfield, in the said county of York, gentleman.

This Robert Sanderfon the father was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable family of his own name: for the search of which truth I refer my reader that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoriton's "History of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire^f," and other records; not thinking it necessary here to engage him into a search for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: for titles not acquired, but derived only, do but shew us who of our ancestors have, and how they have achieved that honour which their descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those titles descend to persons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbish of their degenerousness ought to fall heavy on such dishonourable heads; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

But this Robert Sanderfon lived worthy of his name and family; of which one testimony may be, that Gilbert, called the great and glorious Earl of Shrewsbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a god-father to Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; to
whose

^e Gill Thwait, or Gill-fort, near Rotherham, is named in "Short's History of Mineral Waters," P. I. p. 269, as having a spring famous for restoring the use of their limbs to such as have lost it by working in metals.

^f In this History, p. 474, a pedigree of the family of Sanderfon is inserted.

whose merits and memory posterity (the clergy, especially) ought to pay a reverence^g.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the son, who (like Josiah that good King) began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; seeming even then to dedicate himself and all his studies to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wife Disposer of all hearts had endowed him: so this calm, this quiet, and happy temper of mind (his being mild and averse to oppositions) made the whole course of his life easy and grateful both to himself and others; and this blessed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example, as also by his frequent conversing with him, and scattering short and virtuous apothegms with little pleasant stories^h, and making useful

^g Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of York, was born July 19, 1598. His father, Roger Sheldon, though of no obscure parentage, was a menial servant to Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury, who died May 18, 1616, and was buried at Sheffield, July 17, in the same year. That nobleman was seized of many valuable possessions at or near Sheffield; and among others of the manor and Rectory of Rotherham. See in "Collins's Peerage," p. 19, 20, an enumeration of the titles which he assumed when he went ambassador to France, in the 39th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

^h We may almost imagine, that Mr. Robert Sanderson had proposed to himself the example, which is recorded with so much filial tenderness in the following lines:

"——— Consuevit pater optinus hoc me,
 " Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando,
 " Cum me hortaretur parcè, frugaliter, atque
 " Viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset:
 " Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius, utque
 " Barus inops?"

HORAT. SERM. Lib. I. 4—105.

"——— Purus et insons
 " (Ut me collaudem) si vivo, et carus amicis;
 " Causa fuit pater his."

Ib. vi. 69.

In the same manner Demetrius instructs his son in Terence———

" Nihil prætermitto, consuefacio; denique
 " Inspicere tanquam in speculum in vitas omnium
 " Jubeo, atq; ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi,
 " Hoc facito, et hoc fugito,"

ADELPH. ACT III. Sc. III.

A similar

ful applications of them, by which his son was in his infancy taught to abhor Vanity and Vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of Wisdom and Virtue: and by these means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed, that all became so habitual, as it was not easy to determine whether Nature or Education were his teachersⁱ.

And here let me tell the reader, that these early beginnings of virtue were by God's assisting grace blessed with what St. Paul seemed to beg for his Philippians, namely, "That he that had begun a good work in them, would finish it." And Almighty God did: For his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death, and with truth and comfort, what the same St. Paul said after to the same Philippians, when he advised them "to walk as they had him for an example."

And this goodness, of which I have spoken, seemed to increase as his years did; and with his goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-school of Rotherham—(that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endowed by the said great and good bishop of that name.)—And in this time of his being a scholar there, he was observed to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modesty; and to be of so calm and obliging behaviour, that the master and whole number of scholars loved him as one man^k.

And

A similar felicity attended the celebrated Grotius, who, like Horace, has commemorated in grateful verse, the faithful attention of a father to his son's improvement in the moral duties of life.

ⁱ " ————— Alterius sic

" Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amicé."

HOR. A. P. 410.

^k " He was educated in a severe and exact grammar-school, where by unwearied diligence, a silent sedentary and astonished way of following his book, a seriousness beyond his years—(oh, how would he steal away from his companions' follies to his severer tasks and privacies!)—he made his way thorow all things on which he could fix, to an exactness in Greek and Latin, which he retained to his dying day. And he would observe, that an exactness in school-learning was a great advantage to our higher studies, as the miscarriages of school are not easily recovered in the university." (*Reason and Judgment, or Special Remarks of the Life of the renowned Dr. Sanderfon, p. 5.*)

And in this love and amity he continued at that school, till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father designed to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster; and after a year's stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon, and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie¹, who was then Rector of Lincoln College; And he, after some time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and not long after to matriculate him in the university, which he did the first of July, 1603; but he was not chosen Fellow till the third of May, 1606, at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts: at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the rector, that his "pupil Sanderson had a "metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory; and that he thought he "had improved, or made the last so by an art of his own invention^m." And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not mistaken.

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I must

¹ Dr. Richard Kilbie is commemorated as a benefactor to his college. He restored the library which had long been neglected, made eight new repositories for books, and gave divers good books thereunto. Upon the promotion of Dr. John Underhill to the see of Oxford, he was elected rector of Lincoln College, Dec. 10, 1590; and in 1610 he was appointed the King's Hebrew Professor. He died in 1620.

^m While he was in the university, he generally spent eleven hours a day in study: which industry of his despatched the whole course of philosophy, and picked out in a manner all that was useful in classic authors that are extant; drawing indexes for his private use, either in his own paper-book, or at the beginning and end of each book. This assiduity continued to his dying day. He disposed of himself and time to perpetual industry and diligence, not only avoiding but perfectly hating idleness, and hardly recommending any thing more than this: "Be always furnished with somewhat to do, as the best way to innocence and pleasure." There "was not a minute of the day he left vacant from business of necessity, civility, or study." (*Reason and Judgment, &c.* p. 11.)

I must here stop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made professor of it in this university; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the translators of the Bible; and that this doctor and Mr. Sanderfon had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderfon to bear him company; and they resting on a Sunday with the doctor's friend, and going together to that parish church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie) and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the doctor's friend's house, where after some other conference the doctor told him, he "might have preached more useful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears with needless exceptions against the late translation; and for that word for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said, he and others had considered all them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed:" and told him "if his friend" (then attending him) "should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favour." To which Mr. Sanderfon said, "he hoped he should not." And the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, "he would not justify himself." And so I return to Oxford.

In

^a From this short narrative we learn with what accuracy the translation of James I. was conducted. Dr. Geddes, in his "Prospectus," has very justly observed, that every sentence, every word, every syllable, every letter and point, seem to have been weighed with the nicest exactitude, and expressed either in the text or margin with the greatest precision. Yet the propriety not so much of a new translation, as of a careful revisal or correction of our present translation, is incontrovertible. The very injudicious division of the text into chapters and verses has been long a matter of complaint. But this subject is fully discussed by the present Primate of Ireland in "An Historical View of the English Biblical Translations: the Expediency of revising by Authority our present Translations; and the Means of executing such a Revision." Dublin, 1792.

In the year 1608 (July the 11th) Mr. Sanderson was completed Master of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these dignities, the time was shorter than was then or is now required; but either his birth or the well performance of some extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the reader is requested to believe that it was the last; and requested to believe also, that, if I be mistaken in the time, the college records have mis-informed me; but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th) by his college chosen reader of logic in the house; which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the 6th of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen Sub-rector of the College, and the like for the year 1614, and chosen again to the same dignity and trust for the year 1616°.

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole society; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful; both which were, God knows, so co-natural, as they never left him: and I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which, by God's assisting grace, never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be so called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he stood to be elected one of the Proctors for the university. And it was not to satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the Rector and whole society, of which he was a member, who had not had a Proctor chosen out of their college for the space of sixty years, namely, not from the year 1554^p unto his standing: and they

3 M 2

persuaded

° During his residence in college he undertook the office of tutor, which he executed with much credit to himself. He was wont to say, "I learn much from my master, more from my equals, and most of all from my disciples." (*Reason and Judgment*, p. 10.)

^p THOMAS COVENEY, of Magdalen-College, Pr.

CHRISTOPHER HARGRAVE, of Lincoln College, Pr.

In 1537 both the proctors were of Lincoln College. (*Le Neve*.)

At this time the proctors were chosen out of the whole body of the university, and none usually offered themselves candidates for the office, but persons of great eminence for their

persuaded him, that if he would but stand for Proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any opposers; and told him, "That he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seemingly dead to his college."—By these, and other like persuasions, he yielded up his own reason to theirs, and appeared to stand for Proctor. But that election was carried on by so sudden and secret, and by so powerful a faction that he missed it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, "that if he were troubled at the disappointment, it was for theirs, and not for his own sake: For he was far from any desire of such an employment, as must be managed with charge and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with hard censures or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others to renew the logic lectures which he had read some years past in his college; and, that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity.

And though he had an averseness to appear publicly in print, yet after many serious sollicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year of 1615. And the book proved as his friends seemed to prophesy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the art or the author. For logic may be said to be an *art of right reasoning*: an art that undeceives men who take falsehood for truth; and enables men to pass a true judgment, and detect those fallacies which in some men's understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our author was in this art may easily appear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. And he, who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instructions of others. And I am the
more

their learning. Dr. Peter Turner, Fellow of Merton College, Savilian Professor of Geometry, and also Professor of Geometry in Gresham College, formed the Caroline Cycle, so called from Charles the First's approbation of it, beginning in 1629, and ending in 1720. Since the introduction of this cycle, the appointment is limited to particular colleges in a regular succession, and the office has, of course, been less an object of ambition.

more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this his first public undertaking, by hearing that most tutors in both universities teach Dr. Sanderson's logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in philosophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that since this his Book of Logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold: And that it is like to continue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a proctor's place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averfeness to run a second hazard of his credit and content; and yet he was assured by Dr. Kilbie and the fellows of his own college, and most of those that had opposed him in the former election, that his Book of Logic had purchased for him such a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former opposers repented what they had done; and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second time. And, upon these and other like encouragements, he did again (but not without an inward unwillingness) yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so; and was the 10th of April 1616 chosen Senior Proctor for the year following; Mr. Charles Crooke of Christ church being then chosen the Junior^a.

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents, part of which I will relate; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot^b, Master of
Baliol

^a Mr. Charles Crooke, a younger son of Sir John Crooke, of Chilton, in Bucks, one of the Justices of the King's Bench. In 1625, he proceeded D. D. being then Rector of Amertham, and a Fellow of Eton College. He was the author of "A Sad Memorial of Henry Curwen, Esq. only child of Sir Patr. Curwen, of Warkington in Cumberland, Baronet, who died 21st Aug. 1638, aged 14, and was buried in the Church of Amertham in Bucks. Sermon on *Job* xiv. 2. Oxon. 1638." 4to.—at which time he was chaplain to Charles I. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

^b Brother of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. He obtained his promotion to the see of Salisbury, as a reward for his lectures in defence of the King's supreme power, against Suarez and Bellarmine. They were printed after his death. In his way to Sarum he
made

Baliol College, and Regius Professor of Divinity (who being elected or consecrated Bishop of Sarum some months before) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his diocese, by the heads of all houses, and the other chiefs of all the university. And it may be noted that Dr. Prideaux^{*} succeeded him in the professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642 (being

made a farewell oration to the university with great applause. His brethren, the heads of houses, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his diocese with tears of grief, and the gentry of Sarum received him with tears of joy. (*Life of Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury. Guildford, 1777. p. 152.*)——James I. was so much pleased with Dr. Abbot's book "*De Antichristo*," that he ordered his own "*Commentary upon Part of the Apocalypse*" to be printed with it, when the second edition appeared in 1608. He was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, Dec. 3, 1615; "herein," says his biographer, "equalizing the felicity of "*Seffridus* some time Bishop of Chichester, who, being a bishop himself, saw his brother at "the same time Archbishop of Canterbury."

* Dr. John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, died July 29, 1650, aged 72 years. He filled the high station of the King's Professor in Divinity, with great honour and reputation, for twenty-seven years. While he was Rector of Exeter College, he acquired so much fame in the government of it, that many foreigners, some of whom were afterward persons of the greatest distinction in the republic of letters, placed themselves under his care. It is remarked of him, that his answers in the divinity chair were quick, while those of Dr. Sanderfon, his successor, were slow and certain. Such was the opinion entertained of his abilities, that he was styled "*Columna Fidei orthodoxæ, Malleus Hæreseôn, Patrum Pater, et ingens Scholæ et Academiæ Oraculum.*"

When Mr. Joseph Mede was upon a visit at Oxford, it chanced at dinner one day that the theme of their discourse was displeasing to that good man: for by the liberty which was taken some were criticising upon and speaking, as he thought, but unduly, or, at least, not up to the worth of their learned and worthy professor, Dr. Prideaux. Mr. Mede could not hold, but, as some then present made the report, brake out into these, or the like words: "Gentlemen, I beseech you, desist; the man of whom you now speak deserves far better words. It was his infirmity, let it be admitted, in this to be overseen. But he hath virtues and great accomplishments far more than enough to make up this defect. That he is both learned and pious it may not be questioned; and one infirmity, amidst so many perfections, is not to be regarded, nor ever made mention of by one Christian towards another. Let me, therefore, take the boldness to crave this at your hands, that you would desist from this discourse, and fall upon some other more profitable argument." A noble example, and most worthy of imitation! See "*The Life of Mr. Mede*," prefixed to his Works, p. xxi.

(being then elected Bishop of Worcester), at which time our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderson, succeeded him in the Regius Professorship.

And in this year, Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the bishopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sat usually with his chancellor in his consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted, in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved church censures. And it may be noted, that after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and then, as usually, preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and so apply them to the offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them then a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives; and having done that, he would take them, though never so poor, to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing and persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them for their own sakes to believe him. And his humility and charity, and all other Christian excellencies were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in his Life, truly writ and printed before his excellent Sermons.

And in this year, also, the very prudent and very wise Lord Elsmere, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of England, and then of Oxford¹, resigning up the last, the right honourable, and as magnificent, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed him.

And in this year, our late King Charles I. (then Prince of Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the university, the schools, colleges, and libraries, he and his attendants were entertained

¹ This great and good man was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford Nov. 3, 1610, and installed the 10th of the same month. Upon his resignation, January 24, 1616, William Earl of Pembroke, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household, was elected Jan. 29, in the same year.

tertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits^u.

And in this year King James sent letters to the university for the regulating their studies; especially of the young divines: Advising they should not rely on modern fums and systems, but study the fathers and councils, and the more primitive learning^x. And this advice was occasioned by the
indiscreet

^u On this occasion Prince Charles was pleased, with his own hand writing, to matriculate himself of the University, Aug. 28, with this symbol or sentence: "*Si vis omnia subdicere, subdice te rationi.*" Carolus P.

^x At this time Puritanism and Calvinism increased daily at Oxford. Not only the lecturers in each college, but other preachers in and about the university, positively maintained such points of doctrine as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of England. The King, by the advice of such bishops and others of the clergy as were then about him, despatched upon the 18th of January, 1616, these directions following to the Vice-chancellor, certain heads of houses, the two Professors of Divinity, and the two Proctors of the University, to be carefully and speedily put in execution:—

“ JAMES REX.

1. “ His Majesty signified his pleasure that he would have all that take any degree in schooles
“ to subscribe to the xxxix Articles.
2. “ That no preacher be allowed to preach in the town, but such as are every way con-
“ formable, both by subscription and every other way.
3. “ That all students do resort to the sermons at St. Mary’s, and be restrained from going
“ to any other church in the time of St. Mary’s sermons; and that provision be made that the
“ sermons in St. Mary’s be diligently made and performed, both forenoon and afternoon.
4. “ That the ordinary divinity act be constantly kept with three replyers.
5. “ That there be a great restraint for scholars haunting of town-houses, especially in the
“ night.
6. “ That all scholars, both at chappel and at the schooles keep their scholastical habits.
7. “ That young students in divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable
“ in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England, excited to bestow their time in the fa-
“ thers and counsels, schoolmen, histories and controversies, and not to insist too long upon
“ compendiums and abbreviators, making them their grounds of their study in divinity.
8. “ That no man, either in pulpit or in schooles, be suffered to maintain dogmatically any
“ point of doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of England.

9. “ That

indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning predestination, universal redemption, the irresistibility of God's grace, and of some other knotty points depending upon these: points which many think were not, but by interpreters, forced to be Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the King's letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and discourse upon: And that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it; yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up discipline and order in the university; which at that time was either by defective statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also, the magisterial part of the proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which statutes were then, and not till then, and others suddenly after, put into an useful execution. And though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful as they were designed till Archbishop Laud's time (who assisted in the forming and promoting them), yet our present proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do: Of which one example may seem worthy the noting, namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular scholars ab-

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sent

9. "That Mr. Vice-Chancellour and the two Professors, or two of the Heads of Houses, do every Michaelmas term, when his Majesty resorts into those parts, wayte upon his Majesty, and give his Majesty a just accompt how these his Majesty's instructions are observed."

It will not be deemed necessary to notice any other of the decrees proposed by the delegates, than that which regards the seventh direction: "In prælectionibus catechisticis, quæ in singulis collegiis aulicæ haberi solitæ sunt, Christianæ fidei et religionis articuli xxxix in Synodo Londinensi, anno MDCLXII decreti leguntur, explicanturque per sacrarum Scripturarum axiomata, patrum antiquorum conciliorum testimonia solidè confirmantur." See "Wood's Annals," &c B. I. p. 323, 324, 327, 328.

sent from their colleges at university hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him, unsent for, next morning; and when they did, convinced them with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said to God, "There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou shalt be feared." And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his proctor's speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy; he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose:—"I look back upon my late employment with some content to myself, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass by infirmities, if noted; and in this employment I have had (God knows) many occasions to do both. And when I consider how many of a contrary temper are by sudden and small occasions transported, and hurried by anger to commit such errors, as they in that passion could not foresee, and will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts upbraid and require repentance. And consider, that though repentance secures us from the punishment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon: And consider, that errors against men, though pardoned both by God and them, do yet leave such anxious and upbraiding impressions in the memory as abates of the offender's content. When I consider all this, and that God hath of his goodness given me a temper that hath prevented me from running into such enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulness. And though I cannot say with David (I wish I could), that therefore 'his praise shall always be in my mouth;' yet I hope that, by his grace, and that grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I must look back, and mention one passage more in his proctorship, which is, that Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,

bury, was this year⁷ sent to Trinity College in that university; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was sent after him from his godfather (the father of our proctor) to let his son know it, and commend his godson to his acquaintance, and to a more than common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleasing injunction to our proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his father's desire, that he some few days after sent his servitor to intreat Mr. Shelden to his chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Shelden, having (like a young man as he was) run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his statutes, did therefore apprehend the proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment; the fear of which made his bed restless that night; but at their meeting the next morning that fear vanished immediately by the proctor's cheerful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this first meeting proved the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of; of a friendship free from all self-ends: and it continued to be so till death forced a separation of it on earth; but it is now re-united in heaven².

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that this busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the method and matter, as hath been preached in that university since that day. And having well performed his other exercises for that degree, he took it the 29th of May following, having been ordained deacon and priest in the year 1611, by John King, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been Dean of

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Christ-church,

⁷ He was admitted into Trinity College in the latter end of 1613. He took the degree of B. A. Nov. 27, 1617, and that of M. A. May 28, 1620. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

2 " ————— Is aught so fair
 " In all the dewy landscapes of the spring,
 " In the bright eye of Hesper and the morn,
 " As virtuous friendship?

(AKENSIDE'S PLEASURES OF THE IMAGINATION.)

^a Dr. John King had this dignity conferred on him Aug. 4, 1605; and in 1611 he was made Bishop of London.

Christ-church², and then knew him so well, that he owned it at his ordination, and became his more affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the 29th of his age, he took from the university a licence to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderfon, Lord Viscount Castleton^b, presented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being (next to a good conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it, and he, apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wibberton^c a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the rectory of Boothby Pannell^d in the same county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderfon, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderfon, was more than forty years parson of Boothby Pannell, and from thence dated all or most of his matchless writings.

To this living (which was of less value, but a purer air than Wibberton,) he was presented by Thomas Harrington of the same county and parish, Esq. a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great use and esteem in his

^b Sir Nicholas Sanderfon of Saxby and of Filingham in Lincolnshire, Knight, was created a Baronet in 1612, to James I. and afterward Viscount Castleton in Ireland. Sir James Sanderfon, lineally descended from him, was in 1715 made Baron Sanderfon of Saxby, in the county of Lincoln; in 1716, Viscount Castleton of Sandbeck in the county of York; and in 1720, Earl of Castleton in the county of York.

^c Wibberton R. St. Leodegar, in the deanery of Holland, and archdeaconry of Lincoln.

^d Bothby, alias Boothby Pannell R. St. Andrew's, in the deanery of Grantham, and archdeaconry of Lincoln. He was inducted into this rectory Sept. 7, 1619, and was succeeded by Humphrey Babbington, who was inducted Nov. 1, 1661. "On this place", saith Bishop Gibson, "Dr. Robert Sanderfon, who was for some years rector here, has entailed a lasting name and honour."

his country during his whole life*. And in this Boothby Pannell the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made parson of Boothby Pannell, he resigned his fellowship of Lincoln College unto the then Rector and Fellows; and his resignation is recorded in these words':

Ego Robertus Sanderson per, &c.

I Robert Sanderson, Fellow of the College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the Rector and Fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said College, wishing to them and their successors, all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

May 6, 1619.

ROBERT SANDERSON.

And

* To this gentleman, his very kind neighbour and patron, he has dedicated three sermons, printed in 1637. "Living so long under my charge, as I doe also under your patronage, you never yet gave me the least cause to thinke myself either despised in the work, or defrauded in the wages of my ministry. Which as it is a gracious evidence of a pious and sincere heart in you, so it is a circumstance wherein I am happy beyond the condition of most of my brethren in the same calling." (*Epistle Dedicatory, &c.*)

† The name of Robert Sanderson first appears in the Register of Lincoln College, subscribed to the order of the college chapter of the 6th of May, 1606; and it appears that he was a resident fellow till the time of his resignation, which is inserted in the Register with his own hand, in the college chapter of the 6th of May, 1619, in the following affectionate and solemn form:—

6 May, 1619.

Ego Robertus Sanderson, perpetuus socius Collegii B. Mariae et omnium sanctorum Lincoln in Universitate Oxon. totum meum jus quod habeo in dicta Societate in manus Domini Rectoris et Sociorum ibidem sponte et libere resigno, exoptans illis universis et singulis et successoribus eorum pacem, pietatem, et omnimodam felicitatem, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Testor, ROBERTUS SANDERSON.

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York^s, (or the King, *Sede vacante*,) made prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Southwell in that diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the Bishop of that see^h.

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannell, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general and cheerful acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a university life; he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country parson still more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual joys, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul, which he would not have wanted, because they occasioned his rejoicing in them. And he having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so, as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them: He, having considered all this; the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife that made his life happy, by being always content when he was cheerful; that was always cheerful when he was content; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she out-lived him.

And

^s Dr Tobias Matthew was then Archbishop of York. He died March 29, 1628, in the 83d year of his age.

^h Dr. George Mountain, Bishop of Lincoln, was translated to London, July 20, 1621. It is probable, that Dr. John Williams, his immediate successor in the see of Lincoln, was the patron of Dr. Sanderson.

And in this Boothby Pannell he either found or made his parishioners peaceable and complying with him in the constant, decent, and regular service of God. And thus his parish, his patron, and he lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietness; he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such, and only such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised in order to the honour of God and their own salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For it may be noted he would often say, "That without the last, the most evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not (or are at least the less) effectual; and usually rather harden, than convince the hearer."

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the church-prayers, catechising, preaching, and administering the sacraments seasonably; but thought (if the law or the canons may seem to enjoin no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; even the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He, considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising not only what the law enjoins, but what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse, and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, "Help to bear one another's burden", either of sorrow or want: And what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account as well for that evil we have done, as the good we have omitted; to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

And that his practice was to do good, the following narrative may be one example. "He met with a poor dejected neighbour that complained he "had taken a meadow, the rent of which was *gl.* a year; and when the hay "was made ready to be carried into his barn, several days constant rain had

“so raised the water, that a sudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would bate him no rent; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone.” It may be noted, that in this age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children; love them so, as not to be concerned, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame; people that are cursed with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not so with Dr. Sanderfon, for he was concerned, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning, and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day; and in a conference the Doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected tenant, telling him how much God is pleased “when men compassionate the poor:” And told him, that “though God loves sacrifice, yet he loves mercy so much better, that he is best pleased when he is called *the God of Mercy*.” And told him, “the riches he was possessed of were given him by that *God of Mercy*, who would not be pleased if he that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich Steward in the Gospel, *that took his fellow servant by the throat to make him pay the utmost farthing*.” This he told him: And told him, that “the law of this nation (by which law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men honest or merciful: That was too nice an undertaking; but does what it can to restrain men from being dishonest or unmerciful, and yet that our law was defective in both; and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich Steward which he had mentioned to him:” And told him, that “riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as Job saysⁱ, *prove like gravel in his teeth*; would in time so corrode his conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then

“labour

ⁱ Mr. Walton generally quotes from memory. “Bread of Deceit is sweet to a man; but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel.” *Prov. xx. 17.*

“labour to vomit it up, and not be able: And therefore advised him (being very rich) to make friends of his *unrighteous Mammon*, before that evil day come upon him: But however, neither for his own sake, nor for God’s sake, to take any rent of his poor dejected sad tenant, for that were to gain a temporal and lose his eternal happiness.” These and other such reasons were urged with so grave and so compassionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent^k.

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was himself so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and will believe also, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job’s boasts, that “he had seen none perish for want of clothing; and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice.” And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions: but since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson’s life was to this which I have now related^l.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety, were much noted and valued by the bishop of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the first of which he was often summoned to preach

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many

^k It is related of Dr. Hammond, that having set the tithe of a large meadow, and received part of the money at the beginning of the year, it happening that the product was afterward spoiled by a flood, he returned all the money to the poor tenant, saying, “God forbid I should take the tenth, where you have not the nine parts.”

^l Is it possible to read the above description without great pleasure? May every clergyman of the Church of England seriously contemplate this excellent portrait! Not merely content with the transitory gaze of admiration, may he faithfully copy, and accurately express the transcript of it in his own life and manners!—Dr. Featley tells us, that “there were few gentlemen of his acquaintance whom Dr. Sanderson had not directed to some noble and charitable work for men’s improvement or relief: he, their great casuist, having their hearts and purses at his devoir, and using his happy power, always to their honour, comfort, and infinite satisfaction.” (*Reason and Judgment*, &c. p. 29.)

many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes^m. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them, yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory, (even the art of it), yet he was punished with such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless as to the repetition of his sermons, so as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when some of them were first printed and exposed to censure (which was in the year 1632), "that the best sermons that were ever read were never preached."

In this contented obscurity he continued till the learned and pious Archbishop Laudⁿ, who knew him well in Oxford (for he was his contemporary there), told the King (it was the knowing and conscientious King Charles I.^o) that there was one Mr. Sanderfon, an obscure country minister, that

^m In the collection of his Sermons, we find five preached *ad Clerum*, at the visitations held at Boston or Grantham; one preached *ad Magistratum*, at a public sessions at Grantham; four at the assizes at Lincoln, and one at the assizes at Nottingham.

ⁿ Whom the author of "The Confessional" hath distinguished with the harsh epithet of *malicious*. The noble historian has delineated the character of this great prelate with his usual ability and candour: "He was a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hasty sharp way of expressing himself) that he believed innocence of heart and integrity of manners was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision. He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful; and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, 'Papist;' and under this senseless appellation, they created him many troubles and vexations." (*History of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 90.*)——Archbishop Laud's excellent book against Fisher the Jesuit, and his success in recovering Mr. Chillingworth from Popery, afford incontestible proofs of his learning, and his sincere attachment to the Church of England. Not to mention other instances of his liberality; how nobly did he bestow his patronage, unexpected and undesired, upon Mr. John Hales of Eton, who esteemed him so much, that he mourned for his death in a most remarkable manner, and wished he had died in his stead!

^o A Prince! whom the noble historian justly describes as "the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced."

that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his Majesty would take so much notice of him as to make him his chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, and gave the bishop charge to hasten it; for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The bishop forgot not the King's desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following (1631). And when the King and he became better known to each other, then, as it is said, that after many hard questions put to the prophet Daniel, King Darius found "an excellent spirit in him^p;" so it was with Mr. Sanderson and our excellent King; who having put many cases of conscience to him, received from Mr. Sanderson such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him so great content in conversing with him (which he did several times in private) that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him "he should long for the next November; for he resolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him when that month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that the King thought what he spake: For he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he was under such a restraint as he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first Parliament of this good King (which was 1625), he was chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln^q, which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about predestination, and the many critical points that depend upon or are interwoven

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^p Mr. Walton, generally quoting from memory, is not always accurate: Compare *Dan.* i. 19, 20. and vi. 3.

^q Dr. Sanderson, being a prebendary of Southwell, served as one of the clerks of the convocation for the archdeaconry of Nottingham, in the former part of the Long Parliament.—(*Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire*, p. 475.)

ven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin, though others say they were long before his time. But of these Dr. Sanderfon then drew up for his own satisfaction such a scheme (he called it "*Pax Ecclesiæ*") as then gave himself, and hath since given others, such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation. He was also chosen clerk of all the convocations during that good King's reign: which I here tell my reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that convocation in 1640, that unhappy Long Parliament, and some debates of the predestinarian points, as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond*, and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend

* On a portrait of Dr. Henry Hammond, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, afterward Canon of Christ-church, Public Orator of the university, one of King Charles the First's chaplains, and a constant attendant on his Majesty during his last troubles, are inscribed the following lines:—

"*En gentis lumen column culmenque togata*

"*HAMMONDUS! Secli Lexque decusque sui.*"

(GUTCH'S WOOD'S HISTORY, &c. p. 328.)

This good man, who has already been mentioned in this volume, was born at Chertsey in Surrey, Aug. 18, 1605, being the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, physician to Prince Henry. Educated at Eton School, he was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1630, he was preferred by the Earl of Leicester to the rectory of Penshurst.—In 1639, he proceeded D. D. was member of convocation in 1640, and afterward named to be of the assembly of divines. In 1643, he was persecuted and forced to retire, the Parliament visitors ejecting him from his canonry of Christ-church and his office of public orator. Having spent his life in great retiredness, lucubration, and devotion, he surrendered up his most pious soul to God, in the house of Sir John Packington, April 25, 1660, aged 55 years: Whereupon his body was, upon the morrow, in the evening, buried in the chancel of Hampton church, with the whole office and usual rites of the Church of England, not at that time restored or practised by public command. See "*Kennet's Register*," p. 123.

Bishop Burnet has observed, that Hammond's death before the restoration was an unspeakable loss to the church; that he was a man of great learning and of most eminent merit, having been the person that, during the bad times, had maintained the cause of the church in a very singular manner; that he was a very moderate man in his temper, though with a high principle, and perhaps he would have fallen into healing counsels. He was also much set on reforming abuses, and for reviving in the clergy a due sense of the obligations they were under.

reverend Dean of Salisbury^{*}. And here the reader may note, that in letters wrote to the said dean, Dr. Sanderfon seems to have altered his judgment in some points, since he wrote his scheme, called "Pax Ecclesiæ," which he seems to say in his last will, besides other reasons to think so.

In the year 1636, his Majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and his honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities: But this is mentioned, because at the King's coming thither,

^{*} Dr. Thomas Pierce, for some years President of Magdalen College, Oxford, well known in his time for his skill in the quinquarticular controversy, and for his writings in defence of the ancient establishment of the Church of England, against Baxter, Calamy, and other Non-conformists. On the promotion of Dr. Ralph Brideoke to the see of Chichester, he was appointed Dean of Salisbury. He composed the following epitaph upon himself, a little before his death:—

"Here lies all that was mortal, the outside, dust, and ashes of Tho. Pierce, D.D. once the President of a college in Oxford, at first the Rector of *Brington-cum-membris*, Canon of Lincoln, and at last Dean of Sarum; who fell asleep in the Lord Jesus, [Mar. 28, an. 1691.] but in hope of an awake at the resurrection. He knew himself, and taught others, that all the glorified faints in heaven cannot amount to one Saviour, as all the stars in the firmament cannot make up one sun. Therefore his only hope and trust was in the Lord Jesus, who will change," &c. *Phil.* iii. 21.

"Disce, viator, perinde esse, seu fragile frangi, seu mortale mori." (*Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 862.*)

Of his disputes with Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, see Dr. Walter Pope's Life of that prelate, p. 171, 182.

Dr. Pierce, in a letter to Mr. Isaac Walton, dated 1677-8, gives a particular account, from a book written by Dr. Hammond, of Dr. Sanderfon's change of sentiments relative to the famous points controverted between the Calvinists and the Arminians—how his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain puritanical pamphlets, and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of "Calvin's Institutions," the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors. How he erred with Mr. Calvin, while he took things upon trust, in the sublapsarian way. How being chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, he reduced the quinquarticular controversy into five schemes and tables; and thereupon discerned the necessity of quitting the sublapsarian way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the supralapsarian, which he could never fancy.

^{*} The King, Queen, and their respective courts, having been entertained this year by the university, on the 29th and 30th of August, it was his Majesty's pleasure, upon his leaving the university,

ther, May 3, Mr. Sanderfon did then attend him, and was then (the 31st of August) created Doctor of Divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Masters of Arts with him: Some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his, and none shall outlive it. First, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren^u, who were then Bishops of Winton and of Norwich, and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge, were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his

university, which was the 31st of the same month, that there should be a creation in several faculties. Whereupon the names of those that made suit to be actually created being given into the hands of the chancellor, Dr. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, by one of the secretaries of state, was a convocation celebrated on the same day in the afternoon, wherein were actually created two Bachelors of Arts, two Bachelors of Law, five and forty Masters of Arts, ten Bachelors of Divinity, three Doctors of Civil Law, three Doctors of Physic, and one and twenty Doctors of Divinity. (*Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. Col. 268.*)

Archbishop Laud has given a full account of his entertainment of their Majesties, when, at this their summer progress, they visited the university. (*Laud's Remains, &c. Vol. II. p. 100.*)

^u Dr. Matthew Wren, successively Bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, died April 24, 1667, aged eighty-one years and upwards. He was distinguished for his extraordinary attachment to the royal cause, having suffered an imprisonment for eighteen years with singular patience and magnanimity. The pressures under which he lay during this period were such, that, his estate being taken away, he could not allow his children bread, much less supply their expences for living in colleges. (*Kennet's Register, p. 220.*)——He built the beautiful chapel at Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, “where he was buried with the greatest solemnity seen in the memory of man, performed by the whole university, twenty-four scholars of St. John's, Peter-house, and Pembroke, being his relations, in mourning,” (*Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 612.*)——The history of his life has been faithfully written by his great nephew, Christopher Wren, Esq. who left behind him a treatise in manuscript, with this title, “Parentalia; Memorials of the Lives of the right reverend Father in God, Matthew Wren, D. D. Lord Bishop of Ely, Christopher Wren, D. D. Dean of Windfor, and Sir Christopher Wren, Knight, Surveyor General of the royal Buildings. With Collections and Records of original Papers.” This treatise was published by his son, Stephen Wren, Esq.

It should not be forgotten, that when Cromwell had repeatedly offered to release the bishop, he refused to accept the proffered boon, saying “that he scorned to receive his liberty from a tyrant and usurper.” His life was kindly prolonged by Providence, that as he had seen the destruction so he might also see the happy restoration of his order.

his university. So was Meric, the son of the learned Isaac Casaubon^v; and Prince Rupert^w, who still lives; the then Duke of Lenox^x, Earl of Hereford^y, Earl of Essex^z, Earl of Berkshire^a, and very many others of noble birth, too many to be named, were then created Masters of Arts.

Some

^v Meric Casaubon, the heir of a great name and a learned race, having for his father Isaac Casaubon, who is called by Joseph Scaliger, "*doctissimus omnium qui hodie vivunt*," (his grandfather Henry Stephens, and his great grandfather Robert Stephens) was born at Geneva, in 1599. He came into England with his father, and was educated at Christ-church in Oxford. It will be unnecessary to expatiate on his vast erudition. He was much esteemed by James I. and Charles I. He nobly rejected the proposal of Cromwell, who invited him with the offer of a pension to write the history of his life: and when Christina, Queen of Sweden, solicited him to undertake the government of one or more of her universities, he declined a compliance with her request, and determined to end his days in England. He was a prebendary of Canterbury, and died in 1671. See the inscription on his tomb in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

^w The name of this prince, the third son of the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, occurs not unfrequently in the annals of this and of the succeeding reign. After innumerable toils, and a variety of heroic actions performed by him both by sea and land, he spent several years in sedate studies, and the prosecution of chymical and philosophical experiments. He died, Nov. 29, 1682, in the 63d year of his age, generally lamented, having maintained such good temper, and exact neutrality in the unhappy divisions which then prevailed, that he was honoured and respected by men of the most differing interests. See "*Echard's History of England*," Vol. III. p. 666.

^x Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, created Earl of Richmond, 11 James I.; and afterward Duke of Richmond, in 1623. He was at this time a student of Trinity College in Cambridge.

^y Rather, Earl of Hertford. William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, educated in Magdalen College, Oxford. He was admitted B. A. in 1607. In 1643, he was elected Chancellor of the University, and being deprived by the Parliament in 1647, was reinstated May 26, 1660. He died Duke of Somerset in October following.

^z Robert Devereux, Viscount Hereford and Earl of Essex, who was afterward Captain-general of the army raised by the Parliament against the King.

^a Thomas Howard, Viscount Andover, created Baron of Charlton and Earl of Berkshire.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, though inwardly sick of being well^b, namely in the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scots Church were zealously restless for another reformation of their kirk government; and to that end created a new covenant; for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity, but by so many thousands, and they so armed, as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed but to request: So that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcastle^c, where the King was forced to meet them with an army; but upon a treaty^d and some concessions he sent them back, though not so rich as they intended, yet, for that time, without bloodshed. But oh! this peace and this covenant were but the forerunners of war and the many miseries that followed: For in the year following there were so many chosen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct council with those very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the Members of that Parliament (all did never consent) and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their covenant would restore them to that former tranquillity which they had lost. And to that end the Presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England: And hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats,

^b Like the Italian Patient on whom this epitaph was written:

“STAVO BEN, MA, PER STAR MEGLIO, STO QUI.”

^c The Scotch army entered England, Aug. 20, 1640, and by slow marches encamped on the 27th of that month at Newbourn-upon-Tyne, four miles west from Newcastle. The King's forces, under the command of the Lord Conway, attempting to prevent them from passing the river, after a fierce but unsuccessful engagement, retreated in confusion, and abandoned Newcastle, which immediately fell into the hands of the Scots. (*Kennet's Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 96.*)

^d This treaty was made at Ripon, where the English and Scotch Commissioners met.

hats, with this motto,—“FOR THE CROWN AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS.”—This I saw and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it*. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the Covenanters of this nation, and their party in Parliament, made many exceptions against the Common-prayer and ceremonies of the church, and seemed restless for another reformation: And though their desires seemed not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others; yet to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641 desire Dr. Sanderson to call

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two

* See a copy of this “Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland,” in “Lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion,” Vol. II. p. 373.

This Covenant was recommended to the common people, by their preachers, in very strange language.—“See that the Covenant be both taken and performed. It is the Covenant of the Most High God, who will be much provoked sure with the neglect of it. You have holden forth a pious example in entering into our Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, like the honoured Prince Josiah, and that with the same sincerity. Oh! accompany that King one step farther, in causing all in Jerusalem and Benjannin to make it and stand to it, when they have made it.” (*John Strickland’s Sermon before the Lords, Nov. 5, 1644. p. 5.*) “England shall be England, or a Sodom and Gomorrah, according as it keeps or breaks the Covenant.” (*Lazarus Seaman’s Fast Sermon before the Commons, Sept. 25, 1644, p. 45.*) “A Covenant is a golden girdle to tie us fast to God; it is a joining and glewing ourselves to the Lord: It is a binding ourselves apprentice to God: It is not only commendable but very necessary (and for this cause you are met here this day); to enter into a bond a second time, to bind and enrol yourselves again unto the Lord, to make up this hedge, to tie this golden girdle, and to join and glew yourselves once more unto the Lord, in a perpetual Covenant never to be forgotten. (*Edm. Calamy’s Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Jan 14, 1645, entitled, The great Danger of Covenant-refusing and Covenant-breaking, p. 2.*)

two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house^f, for the space of five months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderfon had made the reformation ready for a view, the church and state were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderfon's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless the repute of his moderation and wisdom was such, that he was in the year 1642 proposed by both Houses of Parliament to the King then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so; but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two Houses of Parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an assembly of divines^g, to debate and settle church-controversies;

^f Dr. John Williams was then Dean of Westminster. He held this Deanery *in commendam* during the whole time of his being Bishop of Lincoln, and likewise three years after his translation to York. (*Le Neve.*)

^g Thomas Lord Fairfax, the Parliament's general, was wont to call this assembly, which consisted chiefly of Presbyterians, "the Chariots and Horsemen of Israel." Mr. Baxter denominates it "the Learned and Pious Synod at Westminster." The order for convening it is inserted in "Sir William Dugdale's View," p. 902.

Of the Members of this Assembly, Lord Clarendon observes, (*Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 530.*) that, "of about one hundred and twenty of which it was to consist, there were not above twenty, who were not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England: The famous Selden, one of their lay assessors, took great delight in exposing their want of learning. When they cited a text to prove their assertions, he would tell them, "Perhaps in your gilt little pocket bibles," (which they would often pull out and read) "the translation may be thus; but the Greek and the Hebrew signifies thus and thus;" and so would totally silence them. See "Whitlock's Memoirs," p. 68. Each member of this Assembly received a salary of four shillings a day, much too little, as some thought, for men of their merit; others grumbling at it as too much for what by them was performed. (*Fuller's Church History, B. X. p. 200.*) "Our English Assembly sat humming several years, and after all expectation brought forth nothing worth a mouse."—(*Foulis's Hist. of Wicked Plots, &c. p. 207.*)

controversies; of which many that were elected were very unfit to judge; in which Dr. Sanderson was also named by the Parliament, but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the summons wanting the King's authority.

And here I must look back and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be Professor Regius of Divinity in Oxford; but though knowledge be said to *puff up*, yet his modesty, and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons, expressed in his speech, when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed, kept him from entering into it till October 1646^b.

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first *de Juramento*, a point very seraphical and as difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths, in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part, or at least very useful to their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and his following lectures *de Conscientia*, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best pens fall short in the commendation of them; so that I shall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in that part of casuistical divinity: And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures (the King being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight) that part of the Parliament then at Westminster sent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more to Oxford, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all heads of houses. And all the other inferior scholars, of what degree soever, were also to take these oaths by a fixed day; for those that did not were to abandon their colleges and

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^b Upon the promotion of Dr. John Prideaux to the Sec of Worcester, Dr. Sanderson was appointed the King's Professor in Divinity, July 21, 1642, and was ejected by the Parliament's visitors, June 14, 1648. In the beginning of August, 1660, he was restored. (*Le Neve.*)

the university too within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum¹; and if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

Dr. Laud the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others had been formerly murdered, but the King yet was not; and the university had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being betwixt him and them, that confined him, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made, that the Dissenters in the university might both preserve their consciences, and the poor subsistence which they then enjoyed by their colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the men in present power were not yet grown so merciless, as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the university appointed twenty delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a manifesto to them, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences: And of these delegates Dr. Sheldon, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley, now Bishop of Winchester, and that most honest, very learned, and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch^k, were a part; the rest I cannot
now

¹ "In 1648, the visitors appointed by Parliament having sat several times in the lodgings of Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, in the last yeare, but to little purpose, they proceeded, this yeare, with very great rigour to the ruin of the universitic. The members of every college were all summoned to appeare on a certaine day, and sometimes two or three colleges appeared in one day, and if they did not give a positive answer, whether they would submit to them and their visitation, as appointed by Parliament, they were forthwith ejected." (*Life of A. Wood, by himself, p. 5051.*)

^k Dr. Richard Zouch, the first civilian of the age in which he lived, derived his descent from the Lord Zouches of Harringworth in Northamptonshire, and was of the same family with Guido or Eudo de Zouch, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and with William Zouch, Archbishop of York, whose military prowess, signally displayed in the defeat of the Scotch army near Durham, is celebrated in the annals of the English History.—Born at Anstley in Wiltshire, in 1590, he received his education in William of Wykeham's school, near Winchester; was matriculated in the university of Oxford in 1608, and admitted fellow of New College in 1609. He took the degree of LL. B. June 30, 1614, and that of LL. D. April 8, 1619.

In 1613, he published "The Dove; or, Passages of Cosmography;" a poem comprising a description of Asia, Africa, and Europe; dedicated to his relation, the friend of Archbishop Whitgift.

now name ; but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson, and he was requested to

Whitgift and of Sir Henry Wotton, the truly noble and worthy honoured Edward Lord Zouch, St. Maure or Cantelupe. He concludes this poem with an account of Great Britain. Having described *renowned Exeter, sweet-seated Salf-b'ry, and Bristol, the merchant's magazine*, he proceeds :—

“ Old *Winchester*, the ancient seate of kings,
 “ For virtue and for valour much renowned,
 “ So subject unto change are earthly things,
 “ Instead of diadem, with bayes is crowned ;
 “ Where worthy WICCHAM's children now maintaine
 “ The same once known by great King Arthur's traine.
 “ *Oxford*, by Isis' crystal streams confin'd,
 “ And well-discerning *Cambridge*, Learning's payre,
 “ Excell those lamps which once on Ida shin'd,
 “ Bright Juno shew'd, cleare Pallas, Venus faire ;
 “ But eyther of these thrice illustrious eyes
 “ Doth brightnes, clearnesse, fairnesse, all comprise.
 “ As that true ensigne of the Almighty's love
 “ Lively displayed in the cloudy skye,
 “ The gazer's eye astonished doth move
 “ To wonder at such strange varietie ;
 “ Rainbow-resembling *London*, England's blisse,
 “ The heav'n's great mercy, and earth's marvel is.”

He no sooner had obtained his first degree than he became an advocate in Doctor's Commons. Through the influence of his noble kinsman, who was then Lord of the Cinque Ports, he was elected, in 1620, a burgeess to serve in Parliament for Hythe in Kent. In the same year he succeeded Dr. John Budden as Professor of Civil Law ; and, in 1625, he was appointed Principal of Alban's Hall ; on the death of Dr. Edward Chaloner, of the ancient family of the Chaloners of Guisborough in Yorkshire, who died of the plague at Oxford. Though a layman, he held the prebend of Shipston, in the church of Salisbury, which was then first annexed to the law professorship by James I.

When William Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the university, by a letter dated June 23, 1623, had appointed certain persons nominated by the convocation, to revise the statutes, and to reduce them to a better form and order, they chose a committee among themselves to prepare materials for the inspection of the whole body. This committee consisted of Robert Pink, D. D. Warden of New College, Richard Zouch, LL. D. Bryan Twine, B. D. and Mr. Peter Turner, Savilian Professor of Geometry. On the death of Lord Pembroke, Dr. Laud, then

to methodize, and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires and did so. And then, after they had

then Bishop of London, being elected Chancellor, April 12, 1630, exerted himself with unremitting zeal in promoting the arduous work of completing a settled and a known body of statutes. What was begun by his noble predecessor was happily accomplished in 1634, under the auspices of this prelate, the most munificent patron of learning which that age produced.

The university of Oxford acquired immortal fame by their virtuous opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant. Those members of that venerable Society, who joined in this opposition appointed twenty delegates to draw up a declaration of the motives which influenced their conduct. To Dr. Zouch was assigned the province of composing that part of their defence which regarded the law; whilst his friend Dr. Sanderfon, then Regius Professor of Divinity, was requested to arrange the arguments deducible from law and conscience. The whole was methodized by the latter; and, when finished, was approved in full convocation. That the learned men in Europe might be apprized of the propriety of this determination, it was printed in Latin, under the title of "*Judicium Universitatis Oxoniensis de 1. Solenni Lega et Fœdere. 2. Juramento Negativo. 3. Ordinationibus Parliamenti circa Disciplinam et cultum, in plenâ Convocatione, 1 Junii 1647, communibus Suffragiis, Nemine contradicente, promulgatum.*"

In 1648, when the visitors appointed by Parliament exercised their powers in Oxford, Dr. Zouch acquiesced in their proceedings, actuated probably by the same motives, which induced Sir Matthew Hale to accept of a judge's place in the Common Pleas. After a mature deliberation, that great and good man determined, "that it being absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers, if he made no declaration of acknowledging their authority." Yet our civilian resigned his office in the admiralty, in which he was replaced at the restoration.

In 1653, an unprecedented violation of the public peace, attended with assassination, and every species of insult was committed upon the New Exchange in London, by the domestics of the Portuguese Ambassador, who was then soliciting terms of peace with Oliver Cromwell. The unbridled impetuosity of their fury had impelled them, for two successive nights, to acts of the most savage cruelty. Several of them were apprehended and committed to prison, the Ambassador having delivered into the hands of the civil magistrate his brother, Don Pantaleon Sa, a Knight of Malta, who was a principal in the riot. The Protector and his privy council differing in opinion on the extent of the privilege of an ambassador, and on the legality of proceeding against the delinquents, thought it necessary to request the advice of Dr. Zouch, who was then, as Anthony Wood calls him, "the living Pandect of the law." By the express direction of our able civilian, the Ambassador's brother was declared amenable to a trial in an English court of judicature. Accordingly he was tried by a special commission of Oyer and Termi-

ner.

had been read in a full convocation and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliament's proceedings and the university's sufferings might be

ner. The commissioners were Lord Rolles, Justice Atkyns, Serjeant Steele, Dr. Richard Zouch, and five others. The Ambassador's brother was indicted for murder, convicted, and executed. Nothing contributed more effectually to increase the reputation of Cromwell in foreign countries, than this act of public justice; which is universally acknowledged to have been strictly conformable to the law of nations. On this subject Dr. Zouch composed a learned tract, entitled, "*Solutio Questionis de Legati delinquentis iudice competente*, Oxon. 1657," to which he has annexed a narrative of the whole transaction. It was at this critical time, that the Portuguese Ambassador presented the famous panegyric on the Protector, supposed to be actually written by Milton, but generally believed to be the work of a Jesuit. Yet Cromwell remained insensible to adulation; and with a resolution worthy of an upright judge, permitted Justice to take her due course.

In 1657 he became a candidate for the office of *Custos Archivorum*, vacated by the death of Dr. Gerard Langbaine. He was opposed on this occasion by Dr. John Wallis, eminent above all his contemporaries for his mathematical knowledge, one of the Savilian Professors, a man of mild and gentle manners, perfectly attached to the subsisting government, and who had, in fact, been one of the secretaries to the assembly of divines at Westminster, during the whole time of their sitting. Dr. Wallis was elected in preference to his competitor; and the proceedings of this election were afterward commented on with great asperity by the celebrated Mr. Henry Stubbs.

After the restoration, Dr. Zouch, whose loyalty always remained unimpeached, had the honour of being named by the King, along with several other commissioners, to restore the splendour, and regulate the disorders of the university. He was re-instated in the court of admiralty; and if he had lived, he would doubtless have attained those higher dignities in his profession, to which his integrity and great abilities entitled him. He died at his apartments in Doctor's Commons, London, March 1, 1660, and was buried in the church of Fulham, near the remains of Katharine, his eldest daughter, the wife of Sir William Powell, alias Hinfon. His works, which principally relate to his professional studies, are enumerated by Anthony Wood. It must be remarked to his credit, that at a time when there was a warm contest between the civilians and the common lawyers, the latter of which were discouraged by the court, he treated the common law of England with reverence and respect; herein differing from Dr. Cowell, the King's Professor at Cambridge, who endeavoured to extend the civil law beyond its due bounds. The author of the best didactic treatise extant, on the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court, hath paid the greatest attention to the writings of Dr. Zouch. Indeed they contain the fundamental principles of law and government, the knowledge of which constitutes an essential part of the education of an English gentleman. John and Daniel Elzevir have dedicated a beautiful and correct edition of his most celebrated work, entitled,
"Elementa

be manifested to all nations¹; and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them. But they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderfon, that all those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment,

"Elementa Juris Civilis," to its learned author. "He was," says Anthony Wood, "an exact artist, a subtle politician, an expert historian; and for the knowledge and practice of the civil law, the chief person of his time, as his works, much esteemed beyond the seas, where several of them are reprinted, partly testify. He was so well versed also in the statutes of the university, and controversies between the members thereof and the city, that none, after Twine's death, went beyond him. As his birth was noble, so was his behaviour and discourse; and as personable and handsome, so naturally sweet, pleasing, and affable. The truth is, there was nothing wanting, but a forward spirit, for his advancement; but the interruption of the times, which silenced his profession, would have given a step to his rise had he been of another disposition."

¹ The assistance of Dr. Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, was of great service on this occasion. "These delegates," says Lord Clarendon, "to their eternal renown, being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison put over them by the Parliament, the King, in prison, and their hopes desperate, passed a public act and declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the assembly of divines, which then sat at Westminster, ever ventured to make any answer to it: But it must remain, to the world's end, as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty of that excellent place, against the highest malice and tyranny, that was ever exercised in or over any nation. See the "History of the Rebellion," Vol. III. p. 56.

After the Restoration, when the Parliament sat at Oxford, the Commons ordered thanks to be returned to the university, for their noble and resolute conduct, at this time.

"MARTIS, 31 Octob. 1663.

"RESOLVED, That the thanks of this house be returned to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, for their remarkable loyalty to his Majesty's father of happy memory, in the late rebellion: Especially, for that extraordinary instance of their duty, in making a bold opposition to the rebellious visitors, and refusing to submit to their League and Covenant: And lastly, for the illustrious performance they printed, entitled, "The Judgment of the University," in which they have learnedly maintained the justice of the King's cause."

imprisonment, and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat like that to the King, who had in the year 1646 sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Shelden (the late Archbishop of Canterbury), and Dr. Morley (the now Bishop of Winchester) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the Parliament for a peace in Church and State; but these, having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now by their own rules allowed him by those Independents now in present power. And with some of those divines, Dr. Sanderson also gave his attendance on his Majesty in the Isle of Wight; preached there before him, and had in that attendance many, both public and private conferences with him, to his Majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, that being the Parliament had then proposed to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with monarchy, and selling theirs and the Cathedral Church-Land to pay those soldiers that they had raised to fight against him, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's then taking his leave of his Majesty in this his last attendance on him, the King requested him "to betake himself to the writing cases of conscience for the good of posterity." To which his answer was, "That he was now grown old, and unfit to write cases of conscience." But the King was so bold with him as to say, "It was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no young man was fit to be made a judge, or write cases of conscience." And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, very fit, but not commonly known; that in one of these conferences this conscientious King was told by a faithful and private intelligencer, that "if he assented not to the Parliament's proposals, the treaty 'twixt him and them would break immediately, and his life would then be in danger; he was sure he knew it." To which his answer was, "I have done what I can to bring my conscience to a compliance with their proposals and cannot; and I will not lose my conscience to save my life." And within a very short time after, he told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, that "the remembrance of two

“ errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford’s death, and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God ever restored him to be in a peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and voluntary penance (I think barefoot) from the Tower of London or Whitehall, to St. Paul’s Church, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon.” I am sure one of them, that told it me, lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observed, that Dr. Sanderson’s lectures *de Juramento* were so approved and valued by the King, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude he translated them into exact English, desiring Dr. Juxon^m (then Bishop of London), Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbertⁿ (who then

^m Let it ever be remembered to the honour of this prelate, whom Charles I. was wont to call “ the good man,” and whom he declared to be his greatest comfort, in his most afflictive situation, that he delivered his sentiments without disguise to the King, on the subject of Lord Strafford’s fate, telling him plainly, that “ he ought to do nothing with an unsatisfied conscience, upon any consideration in the world.” His character is thus beautifully portrayed by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. “ There is in him no tumour, no sourness, no distraction of thoughts; but a quiet mind, a patient care, free access, mild and moderate answers. To this I must add, a solid judgment, a sober plainness, and a most indubitable character of fidelity in his very face; so as there needs not much study to think him both a good man and a wise man.” (*Reliq. Wottoniana*, p. 31.) The appointment of this divine to the office of Lord High Treasurer of England gave great disgust to the nobility: But he conducted himself so well in the administration of it, as to silence all complaint.

ⁿ The learned person who published *Observations upon his Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, under the patronage and at the expense of his kinsman, William Earl of Pembroke, he went abroad in 1626, and spent four years in visiting Asia and Africa. Upon his return into England, he waited on that nobleman, who having invited him to dinner, the next day, at Baynard’s Castle in London, died suddenly that night, according to the calculation of his nativity, which his father had made several years before. Thus disappointed in his expectations of promotion, he again went abroad, and travelled over several parts of Europe. He afterward joined the Parliament against Charles I. whom he was appointed to attend from the very beginning of his imprisonment to the time of his death. He shewed himself a most faithful servant to the King, whose real character he soon discovered to be totally different from that which had been represented to him. In 1660, Charles II. advanced him to the dignity of a Baronet, by the name of Thomas Herbert of Tintern, in Monmouthshire, “ for faithfully serving

then attended him in his restraint) to compare them with the original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that King's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately shewed me by Sir William Dugdale, King at Arms°. The translation was designed to be put into the King's Library at St. James's, but, I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the author and translator to be both so much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair at Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the covenant, negative oath, and Parliament ordinance for church-discipline and worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion; for the visitors were daily expected, and both city and university full of soldiers, and a party of Presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject the Dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods^p: But, notwithstanding, Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his lecture, and did, to the very faces of those Presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and, with a calm fortitude, make such applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forbore to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened;

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"serving his royal father, during the two last years of his life."——In 1678 he published "Threnodia Carolina; containing Memoirs of the two last Years of the Reign of King Charles I." A work much commended for the candour, impartiality, and truth, with which it is composed. He assisted Sir William Dugdale in compiling the third volume of his "Monasticon Anglicanum;" and died at York, his native place, in 1682, leaving several MSS. to the public library at Oxford, and others to that of the Cathedral at York.

Charles I. who always entertained the most sincere affection for this his upright and faithful servant, gave him many of his books a little before his death. There is extant a copy of Shakspeare's Works, fol. 1632, in which is the King's writing, in these words, "*Dum spero. C. R.*" And by Mr. Herbert's hand, "*Ex dono serenissimi Regis Car. servo suo humiliff. T. Herbert.*"

° The Life of this eminent antiquary, written by himself, is prefixed to the second edition of his "History of St. Paul's Cathedral."

^p See a full account of this visitation in "Walker's History of the Sufferings of the Clergy," P. I. p. 122, &c.

and as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possessed themselves immediately of their colleges; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderfon was (in June 1648^a) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Shelden, Dr. Hammond^r, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the university had denied this subscription, and

^a June 14, 1648.

A transcript of the following order was kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Sheffield, Provost of Worcester College, and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum:

“ AT THE COMMITTEE OF LORDS AND COMMONS, FOR REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE
OF OXON.

“ WHEREAS the answeres of Dr. Fell, Deane of Christ-church, and others, the Prebendaries
“ of Christ-church in Oxford, refusinge to submitt to the authoritie of Parliament for visitinge
“ the said universitie, were referred to this Committee, by speciall order of both Houses of
“ Parliament, to hear, and determine, and to apply effectual remedies as the cases should re-
“ quire: Upon full hearinge and debate of the said answeres, it was resolved, that the matter
“ hereof was an high contempt, and denyale of authoritie of Parliament; and further resolved,
“ that Dr. Sanderfon was guilty hereof; and that, for an effectual remedy, the said Dr. San-
“ derfon be removed from his place of Prebendary of Christ-church, and Regius Professor
“ of the universitie of Oxford: And whereas, upon further consideration, this Committee
“ thought fitt, and ordered, that their former vote should be suspended, in hope of his sub-
“ mission to the authoritie, and conformity to the orders and ordinances of Parliament, for
“ the reformation of the universitie: Now upon hearinge the report of the visitors (which is),
“ That the said Dr. Sanderfon hath not, all this while, given any satisfactorie testimony of
“ his submission: it is therefore ordered, That the last vote of the Committee concerning the
“ suspension of the said Dr. Sanderfon be taken off, and revoked; and the former vote con-
“ cerning his removall doe stand and be confirmed.

“ CAT. MSS. ANGL. N^o. 3736.

FRANC. ROUS.”

“ During his confinement at this time, Dr. Hammond began his excellent “Paraphrase, and Annotations on the New Testament.”—When Dr. Sanderfon was ejected from the divinity chair, he was succeeded by Dr. Robert Crofte, Fellow of Lincoln College, who, at the end of three months, resigned it. The regulators of the university then appointed Dr. Joshua Hoyle, on whom they had conferred the Mastership of University College. How this honourable office was filled, Anthony Wood has informed us: “ Professoris regii munus obire
“ cœpit D. Hoyle oratione planè plumbeâ, et eruditionis omnimodæ prorsus experte.”

and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Christ-church (now Lord Bishop of Winchester), and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or to accept of their reasons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by Parliament referred to a Committee to hear and report the reasons to the House, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and see counsel, to plead their cause on the day appointed: but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst be so bold as to undertake it cordially: For at this time the privileges of that part of the Parliament then sitting were become a *Noli me tangere*; as sacred and useful to them as traditions ever were, or are now, to the Church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced for want of counsel, to plead the university's reasons for not-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions; and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the Dissenters out of the university. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that Committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his principles in religion, and of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "he had such a love for Dr. Morley, that "knowing he would not take the oaths, and must therefore be ejected his "college, and leave Oxford; he desired I would therefore write to him to "ride out of Oxford when the visitors came into it, and not return till they "left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that by so "doing he should, without taking any oath, or other molestation, enjoy "his canon's place in the college." I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power to do what he professed, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore
write

write the doctor word; to which his answer was, "that I must not fail to return my friend (who still lives) his humble and undissembled thanks, though he could not accept of his intended kindness; for when Dr. Fell (then the dean) Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderfon, and all the rest of the college were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame, to be left behind with him only". Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may be easily imagined with what a joyful willingness these self-loving reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and subsistence: but their consciences were dearer than both, and out they went; the reformers possessing them without shame or scruple, where I will leave these scruple-mongers, and proceed to make an account of the then present affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the bishops' houses were turned to be prisons, and they filled with divines that would not take the covenant, or forbear reading-common-prayer, or that were accused for some faults like these'. For it
may

* They were all, except Dr. Wall, ejected in 1647. Dr. Samuel Fell died of grief, the day he was made acquainted with the murder of Charles I. viz. on Feb. 1, 1648-9. Dr. Gardner, Canon of the third stall, lived to be restored, and died in 1670. Dr. Paine, Canon of the fourth stall, died during the rebellion. Dr. Hammond, Sub-dean and Canon of the second stall, died in 1660. As for Dr. Wall, Canon of the seventh stall, he conformed no doubt to the measures of the visitors. He died possessed of it in 1666.—Wood, in his "Ath. Oxon." Vol. II. p. 375, speaks of Wall's ingratitude to his college, and of his liberality to the city of Oxford, of which see "Gutch's Wood's History," &c. p. 512.

It appears from a treatise, printed in 1660, entitled, "A Defence of Human Learning in the Ministry," that Dr. Wall was once domestic chaplain to Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, whose family he honoured with his learning and piety, and who gave this honourable character of him, that he was the best read in the Fathers of any he ever knew. He published a Latin sermon preached before the university, on the first day of May in that year, under the title of "Solomon in Solio, Christus in Ecclesiâ."

† "When all the common jails and compters about town were filled with the principal gentry and clergy of the kingdom, the venerable palaces of the bishops were converted into prisons. On January the 3d, 1642-3, Lambeth, Ely, and London houses were ordered to be
made

may be noted, that about this time the Parliament sent out a proclamation to encourage all laymen that had occasion to complain of their ministers, for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a select Committee for that purpose; and the minister, though one hundred miles from London, was to appear there and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; and you may be sure no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complainant: by which means all prisons in London, and in many other places, became the sad habitations of conforming divines.

And about this time the Bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many citizens, fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his pardon, became so maliciously impudent as to shut up their shops, professing not to open them till justice was executed. This malice and madness is scarce credible, but I saw it.

The bishops had been about this time voted out of the House of Parliament, and some upon that occasion sent to the Tower^u, which made many Cove-

made prisons, and Dr. Alexander Leighton was appointed keeper to the first of them. The same was done, four days after, by the Bishop of Lincoln's house. And the Bishop of Winchester's house, in Southwark, was applied to the same purpose. And when all these, capacious as they were, could not contain the prisoners, the deanery of St. Paul's was made a prison." (*Walker's Sufferings, &c.*)—"When the legal or orthodox clergy were thus put under confinement, some, to the number of twenty, were imprisoned on board of ships in the Thames, and shut down under decks, no friend being suffered to come to them." (*Dr. Richard Grey's miserable and distracted State of Religion in England, upon the Downfall of the Church Establishment, p. 17.*)

^u The bishops being declared incapable of sitting in the House of Peers presented a protesting petition, maintaining their indubitable right of sitting and voting in that House, and expressing their willingness and readiness to perform their duties there, if they could obtain protection from force and violence. This act was construed into high treason, and the twelve bishops, who subscribed the petition and protestation, were ordered to be committed to the Tower. These were WILLIAMS, Archbishop of York; MORTON, Bishop of Durham; WRIGHT, of LITCHFIELD; HALL, of Norwich; OWEN, of St. Asaph; PIERS, of Bath and Wells; COOK, of Hereford; SKINNER, of Oxford; WREN, of Ely; GOODMAN, of Gloucester; TOWERS, of Peterborough; and OWEN, of Landaff. The Bishops of Durham and Litchfield, in consideration of their great age and ill health, were consigned to the care of the gentleman usher.

Covenanters rejoice, and most of them to believe Mr. Brightman* (who probably was a well-meaning man) to be inspired when he writ his "Comment on the Apocalypse;" a short abridgment of which was now printed, cried up and down the streets, and called "Mr. Brightman's Revelation of the Revelation," and both bought up and believed by all the Covenanters: And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet because he had there made the churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no bishops, to be Philadelphia^x in the Apocalypse, "that angel that God loved;" and the

* Mr. Thomas Brightman, born at Nottingham, and educated at Queen's College in Cambridge, was Rector of Hawnes in Bedfordshire. He was the author of "The Revelation of St. John illustrated, with an Analysis and Scholions," &c. and of "A most comfortable Exposition of the last and most difficult Part of the Prophecie of Daniel, from the 26th Verse of the 11th Chapter, to the end of the 12th Chapter," written originally in Latin. He also composed a Latin Commentary on the Canticles, or Song of Solomon, which his warm imagination prompted him to consider as a prophetic description of the state of the Church from King David's time to after the year 1550. He shews himself upon all occasions a most inveterate enemy of Episcopacy. The translator of the two last Works thus characterises him:—"He was indeed one of a thousand, great and gracious many ways, both in life and learning, *dum ea docuit quæ fecit, et ea fecit quæ docuit, et verba vertebat in opera.* He taught in that he did practise, did practise that he taught, and so turned words into works. He was a great artist, and a great linguist. He had good skill in all arts and tongues needful for a complete divine, even in song also, vocal music being the best, till his more weighty studies called him from the Maidens to Divinity, their mistress, wherein he excelled and shined above many of his fellows: all that then lived with him in Queen's College in Cambridge, whereof he was a fellow, do very well know. He shined every way, and was a BRIGHT-MAN indeed in his life; shining to all that heard his learned catechising, and common places, and lectures in the college, or his sermons in the country, in Bedfordshire. He is said to have always prayed for a sudden death. His prayer was granted. As he was reading a book, and travelling in a coach with his friend and patron, Sir John Osborn, he was seized with a fainting fit, and being taken out of the carriage for the benefit of the air, he instantly expired, Aug. 24, 1607."

Mr. Thomas Cartwright, the noted Puritan, in allusion to the name of Mr. Brightman, considers him as full of illumination as "a bright star in the church of God." Though no favourable opinion can be entertained of his writings, yet the acknowledged innocence of his life and conversation entitles him to every encomium.

^x "The Antitype thereof is the second reformed church, which should spring up after that of Germany. And this is the Church of Helvetia, Suavia, Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland,

the power of Prelacy to be Antichrist, the evil angel, which the House of Commons had now so spued up, as never to recover their dignity:—Therefore did those Covenanters rejoice, approve, and applaud Mr. Brightman, for discovering and foretelling the bishops' downfall; so that they both railed at them, and at the same time rejoiced to buy good penny-worths of all their land, which their friends of the House of Commons did afford both to themselves and them, as a reward for their zeal and diligent assistance to pull them down'.

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And

"land. I joyn all these together into one church, because they almost live by one and the same lawes and manner of government, as touching any matter of moment. Neither doth the distance of place breake offe that society, which the conjoining of mindes and good will coupleth together. Yea, this dispersing doth chiefly agree to the Philadelphians, whom we said to dwell more thickly in the fields than in the city. Whereby it cometh to pass, that this bareness of the citizens taketh up a great deal of place, though the citizens be not so many. We shall find, that this church I speak of arose up after that of Germany, when Ulrick Zuinglius began to teach, at Zuirich, among the Zuizers, anno 1519. And the Reformation was begun the fourth year after, that is 1523." (*Brightman on the Revelation*, p. 109.)

"Laodicea, the seventh city, wanteth a parallel to match her, as being a peerless paragon. The counterpain of the third reformed church, which before that I do by name specific, I must put away from me, by all earnest intreaty, the unjust suspicion which some men may raise against me, and the offence which they may take at my words. It was not truly any distempered affection of my heart, that hath set me on work to seek out an odious application of this epistle. God is my witness, that I am not grieved through envy either at the wealth or yet at the honour of any man.—Wherefore let no man blame me for speaking that which not so much my own mind, as the duty of a faithful interpreter, constraineth me to utter. And I hope that those, who love the truth, will not disdain and reject so equal a petition, on which hope relying, and chiefly on his help, who is the guide of my way and my life, I will forthwith address myself to come to the matter. The counterpain, I say, of Laodicea is the third reformed church, OUR CHURCH OF ENGLAND." (*Ibid.* p. 123, 124.)

"Their great admired opener of the Revelation (*Brightman on Apoc. c. 3.*), maketh our church the linsey-wolsey Laodicean church, neither hot nor cold." (*Dr. Sanderfen's Sermon on Rom. xiv. 3.*)

† The noted Hugh Peters, in an epistle to the reader prefixed to a book entitled "Church Government, and Church Covenant discussed, 1643," was bold to say, Presbytery and Independency are the ways of worship and church-fellowship now looked at, since we hope *Episcopacy is confined up, and will be buried without expectation of another resurrection.*

And the bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as that every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did and when he did not preach true doctrine; and by this, and the like means, several churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not; some of which I shall mention in what will follow².

I have heard of two men that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, *for he was beholden to him*; and the other that he was not, *for he was not beholden to him*. And something like this was in the designs both of the Covenanters and Independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former: for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace if we were but zealous for the covenant, and the other not: for we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear to the covenant contrary to their consciences, and probably lose both their livings and liberties too. But though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down common prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings;

² This dreadful state of things seems, in some measure, to have been predicted by Sir Walter Raleigh, who, observing the vast increase of separatists and sectaries, remarks, "That all cost and care bestowed and had of the church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, was accounted by those people a kind of Popery, so that time would soon bring it to pass, if it were not resisted, that God would be turned out of churches into barns; and from thence again into the fields, and mountains, and under hedges; and the offices of the ministry, robbed of all dignity and respect, be as contemptible as those places: all order, discipline, and church-government left to newness of opinion and men's fancies: yea, and soon after as many kinds of religion spring up, as there are parish churches in England; every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of revelation: insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon die away by degrees; and all religion be held in scorn and contempt." (*History of the World*, B. II. c. 5.)

livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

They also made other strange observations of election, reprobation, and free-will, and the other points dependent upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not, though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderfon at Boothby Pannell.

And in the way thither I must tell him, that a very Covenanter, and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy covenant, was got into a good sequestered living by the help of a Presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Presbyterian, being well settled in this good living, began to reform the churchyard, by cutting down a large ewe tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners: and they, excepting against him for so doing, were by him answered, "That the trees were his, and it was "lawful for every man to use his own as he, and not as others, thought fit." I have heard (but do not affirm it) that no action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet from off a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it^a: I speak this because I would not suppose any man to do what this Covenanter did: And whether there were any law against him I know not, but pity the parish the less for turning out their legal minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderfon at Boothby Pannell, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise: For all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confusion, committee-men, and soldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted glass windows, and serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit^b; and these committee-men

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and

^a But see "Burn's Ecclesiastical Law," Vol. I. p. 364.

^b "After the military standard was erected, these profane outrages were greatly increased. Some stately religious fabrics were totally demolished; many were converted into stables,

"or

and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy (so the historian Thucydides saith) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations; and so though there might be some of these Covenanters that were beguiled and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could therefore not live peaceably; nor did he; for the soldiers would appear and visibly oppose and disturb him in the church when he read prayers, some of them pretending to advise him how God was to be served more acceptably, which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the church-service, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers^c.

At

“or polluted and profaned by other shocking abominations. Their beautiful sculptures, though only containing Scripture-histories, were absurdly broken down with axes and hammers; their monuments erected to illustrious and venerable personages were defaced; the very urns, in which their ashes had been deposited, were ransacked; and their consecrated utensils were exposed to rapine and plunder. Crosses, whether graven or delineated, whether in churches or out of them, were peculiar objects of enthusiastic aversion. Nor less was their rage levelled against painted glass, containing in it either portraitures of prelates and kings, of fathers and martyrs, of our Saviour and his apostles, or representations of Scripture-histories. The pious captive sovereign, amidst all his calamities, could not forbear taking notice of this breaking of church windows, this pulling down of crosses, this defacing of the monuments and inscriptions of the dead, &c. as the malignant effects of popular, specious, and deceitful reformatations. ΕΙΣΑΥ ΒΑΣ. c. 20.” (*The Ornaments of Churches considered*, &c. p. 116.)

^c Of such insolence of behaviour numberless instances are recorded. “Dr. Layton, one of the fanatical preachers of that time, brought in a guard of soldiers together with their arms, into Lambeth church, in the time of divine service, tore the Book of Common Prayer in pieces, pulled the surplice from the minister’s back, and scoffing at the good people, who were at their devotions, said ‘Make an end of your pottage;’ and the soldiers following him to the communion-table, with tobacco-pipes in their mouths, and committing divers outrages to the great terror of the congregation.” (*Dugdale’s Short View*, &c. p. 566.)

“Sunday

At this time he was advised by a Parliament-man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the common-prayer, but make some little variation; especially if the soldiers came to watch him; for if he did, it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the covenant; or sequestration; for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the rubric^d.

I will

“ Sunday 9th of September, 1649, at the church of St. Peter’s-Paul’s-Wharf, Master Williams reading morning service out of the Book of Common Prayer, and having prayed for the King, as in that Liturgy established by act of Parliament he is enjoined, six soldiers from St. Paul’s Church, where they quarter, came into the church, commanding him to come down out of the pulpit, which he immediately did, and went quietly with them into the vestry; when presently a party of horse from St. Paul’s rode into the church, with swords drawn and pistols spanned, crying out, ‘ Knock the rogues on the head; shoot them ‘and kill them;’ and presently shot at random at the crowd of unarmed men, women, and children, and carried away the minister a prisoner to Whitehall.” (*Walker’s History of Independency, Part II. p. 254.*)

^d This mode was adopted by many of the clergy, who were deterred from openly using the liturgy of the Church of England. It is related of Dr. Rainbow, afterward Bishop of Carlisle, that though he could not use the English liturgy, yet he introduced some of those excellent prayers of which it is composed, and that not only in his private family; but he also composed such prayers as he used in the church out of those in the liturgy; and so gradually brought the ignorant people to affect the common prayers a little transformed and altered, who disliked the common prayer book itself, they knew not why.

“ The iniquity of the times would not bear the constant and regular use of the liturgy: To supply therefore that necessity, Mr. Bull formed all the devotions, he offered up in public, out of the Book of Common Prayer, which did not fail to supply him with fit matter and proper words, upon all those occasions that required him to apply to the throne of grace for a supply of the wants of his people. He had the example of one of the brightest lights of that age, the judicious Dr. Sanderson, to justify him in this practice; and his manner of performing the public service was with so much seriousness and devotion, with so much fervency and ardency of affection, and with so powerful an emphasis in every part, that they, who were most prejudiced against the liturgy, did not scruple to commend Mr. Bull, as a person that prayed by the Spirit; though, at the same time, they railed against the common prayer, as a beggarly element, and as a carnal performance.” (*Mr. Nelson’s Life of Dr. George Bull, p. 39.*)—See also the method observed by Dr. John Hacket, in “ Granger’s Biogr. Hist.” Vol. III. p. 241.

I will set down the very words of confession which he used, as I have it under his own hand ; and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and very much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

“ O ALMIGHTY GOD and merciful Father, we thy unworthy servants do
 “ with shame and sorrow confess that we have all our life long gone astray out
 “ of thy ways like lost sheep ; and that by following too much the vain de-
 “ vices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended against
 “ thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed ; we have many times left
 “ undone those good duties which we might and ought to have done ; and
 “ we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them,
 “ which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no
 “ health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve us ; but all our hope is in
 “ thy mercy ; whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked ; have
 “ mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable of-
 “ fenders : spare us, good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not ;
 “ but, according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ
 “ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true repentance into thy grace and
 “ favour. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we hence-
 “ forth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and
 “ a sober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the eternal comfort of
 “ our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*”

In these and other provocations of tearing his service-book ; a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening service was ended, to visit and console with him for the affront offered by the soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said : “ God hath restored me to my desired
 “ privacy, with my wife and children, where I hoped to have met with
 “ quietness, and it proves not so ; but I will labour to be pleased, because
 “ God, on whom I depend, sees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praise
 “ him that he hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of a
 “ good conscience to maintain me in a place (Doctor of the Chair) of great
 “ reputation

“reputation and profit: and though my condition be such, that I need the
 “last, yet I submit; for God did not send me into this world to do my own,
 “but suffer his will, and I will obey it.”—Thus by a sublime depending
 on his wise and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit to
 what God had appointed; still justifying the truth of that doctrine and the
 reason of that discipline which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of “The King’s Meditations in his
 Solitude” was printed, and made public^c: and Dr. Sanderson was such a
 lover of the author, and so desirous that not this nation only, but the whole
 world should see the character of him in that book, and something of
 the cause for which he and many others then suffered, that he designed to
 turn it into Latin; but when he had done half of it most excellently, his
 friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done it, and printed
 the whole very well before him.

And about this time his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr.
 Hammond, came to enjoy a quiet conversation and rest with him for some
 days at Boothby Pannell, and did so. And having formerly persuaded him
 to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he
 had wrote it. Dr. Sanderson became so compliant as to promise he would.
 And to that end, they two went early the Sunday following to a neigh-
 bouring minister, and requested to exchange a sermon, and they did so.
 And at Dr. Sanderson’s going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon (which

was

^c Dr. Gauden’s too luxuriant imagination, which betrayed him into a rankness of style in
 the Asiatic way, is an argument with Bishop Burnet, that he was not the author of *Εὐσεβίου
 βασιλική*, “in which there is a nobleness and justness of thought, with a greatness of style,
 that made it be looked on as the best written book in the English language. It has gone
 through forty-seven impressions, and the number of copies printed is said to have been forty-
 eight thousand.—Of this work Bishop Warburton remarks, “it is so far from being cer-
 tain,” as Neale in his history pretends, “that it is spurious, that it is the most uncertain mat-
 ter I ever took the pains to examine. There is strong evidence on both sides; but I think
 “the strongest and most unexceptionable is on that which gives it to the King.” (*Warbur-
 ton’s Works, Vol. VII. p. 920.*)

The controversy concerning the real author of this performance is discussed in the “Ge-
 neral Dictionary,” Vol. III. p. 359, &c. Vol. X. p. 76, and in the “Biographical and Literary
 Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer,” p. 631.

was a very short one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was wrote; but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond looking on his sermon as written, observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, especially the method, that he also became afraid for him; for it was discernible to many of that plain auditory: But when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderfon said with much earnestness, "Good doctor, give me my sermon; and know, that "neither you nor any man living shall ever persuade me to preach again "without my books. To which the reply was, "Good doctor, be not "angry; for if I ever persuade you to preach again without book, I will "give you leave to burn all the books that I am master of."

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit was at this time to discourse Dr. Sanderfon about some opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly: It was about those knotty points which are, by the learned, called the *Quinquarticular Controversy*^s; of which I shall proceed, not to give any judgment (I pretend not to that), but some short historical account which shall follow.

There had been since the unhappy covenant was brought and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (those of London especially) to preach and be too positive in the points of universal redemption, predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preached, "That all men were, before they came into this "world, so predestinated to salvation or damnation, that it was not in their "power

^s "It was remarked of Dr. Hammond himself, that his memory was serviceable, but not officious; faithful to things and business; but unwillingly containing the texture, and punctuality of words; which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one sermon by heart, than to pen twenty." See "*Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond*," p. 96.

^s It is scarce necessary to observe, that the Calvinists and Arminians differed in opinion on 1. The eternal decrees. 2. Free-will. 3. Grace and conversion. 4. The extent of Christ's redemption and universal grace. And, 5. The perseverance of the saints.—On these subjects are several letters written by Dr. Sanderfon to Dr. Hammond, and printed in the works of the latter.—The angelic Dr. Henry More has, in a letter to a foreigner, expressed his wish, that the quinquarticular points were all reduced to this one, "That none shall be saved without sincere obedience."

“ power to sin so, as to lose the first, nor, by their most diligent endeavour, to avoid the latter. Others that it was not so ; because then God could not be said to grieve for the death of a sinner, when he himself had made him so by an inevitable decree, before he had so much as a being in this world ;” affirming therefore, “ that man had some power left him to do the will of God, because he was advised to work out his salvation with fear and trembling ;” maintaining, “ that it is most certain every man can do what he can to be saved ; and as certain, that he that does what he can to be saved shall never be damned :” And yet many that affirmed this to be a truth would yet confess, “ That that grace, which is but a persuasive offer, and left to us to receive or refuse, is not that grace which shall bring men to heaven.” Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these or the like occasions come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderfon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now reverend Dean of Salisbury), of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the 52 London Ministers (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his “ Practical Catechism” affirmed, that “ our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind^b.” To justify which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works). After which there were many letters past betwixt the said Dr. Hammond,

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Dr.

^b Dr. Sanderfon, on the first publication of this work, was attacked by Mr. Francis Cheynel, one of the assembly of divines, the same person whose extraordinary treatment of Mr. Chillingworth is related by himself, in a tract entitled “ Chillingworthi Novissima.” See Cheynel’s Life, in “ Dr. Johnson’s Works,” Vol. XII. p. 190.

It was usual with Dr. Hammond, in the summer season, to spend an hour before evening prayer in catechising, according to the form of the Church Catechism, which he rendered fully intelligible to the meanest capacities by his explanations, which were much the same in substance with the work which he afterward published, his “ Practical Catechism.” Though it first appeared without a name, it presently met not only with approbation, but with universal esteem and veneration ; the cavils of Cheynel being not worth notice, though Dr. Hammond condescended to answer them. King Charles I. in his last instructions to his children, recommended this, among other books, as a most safe and sound guide in religion.

Dr. Sanderfon, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderfon was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who, in his judgment of God's decrees, differed with Dr. Hammond (whom he revered and loved dearly) and would not therefore engage himself in a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end: Nevertheless they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderfon and Dr. Hammond being now printed in his works; and for what passed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter sent to me and annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderfon was by these debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted¹. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a postscript to the last letter of his to Dr. Sanderfon, says "God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the Apostle does, to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety." And let me add further, that if these 52 Ministers of Sion College were the occasion of the debates in these letters; they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the *Quinquarticular Controversy*; for none have since undertaken to say more; but
seem

¹ In the quarto edition, p. 34, is the following marginal remark: "Of late our English Arminians have got the trick to fetch in within the compass of this title of Puritans, all orthodox divines, that oppose against their Semipelagian subtleties, of purpose to make sound truth odious, and their own corrupt novelties more passible and plausible." And again, in page 35: "So Pelagius, from whose root Popery (in that branch) and Arminianism sprouted, was a man as strict for life as most Catholics, yet a most dangerous and pestilent heretic." In the subsequent editions in folio, the first remark is entirely omitted; and in the second quotation, the words "and Arminianism" are wanting.

seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confess it to the honour of God and themselves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations.

I am not willing to lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson where we left them together at Boothby Pannell, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion College, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, whose life seemed to be sacrificed, to appease the popular fury of that present time. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both at his trial and before it; yet my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter concern us, that is, to note, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he did (as our blessed Saviour advised his disciples) "Pray for those that persecuted and despitefully used him." And not only pardoned those enemies, but passionately begged of Almighty God that he would also pardon them: and besought all the present beholders of this sad sight, "That they would pardon and pray for him." But though he did all this, yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for not suppressing a sort of people whose malicious and furious zeal had so far transported them, and violated all modesty, that though they could not know whether he were justly or unjustly condemned, were yet suffered to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, "that the Parliament would hasten his execution*." And he having declared how unjustly he

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thought

* "The second particular," says Archbishop Laud, in his last speech, "is concerning this great and populous city, which God blefs. Here hath been of late a fashion taken up to gather hands, and then go to the great court of this kingdom, the Parliament, and clamour for justice; as if that great and wise court, before whom the causes come which are unknown to many, could not, or would not, do justice, but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and

thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery (for that was one of the accusations for which he died¹); he declared with sadness, "That the several sects and divisions then in England (which he had laboured to prevent) were now like to bring the Pope a far greater harvest than he could ever have expected without them." And said, "these sects and divisions introduce profaneness under the cloak of an imaginary religion;" and, "that we have lost the substance of religion by changing it into opinion; and that by these means, the Church of England, which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, was fallen into apparent danger by those Covenanters, which were his accusers." To this purpose he spoke at his death; for which, and more to the same purpose, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold. And it is here mentioned, because his dear friend Dr. Sanderfon seems to demonstrate the same fear of Popery in his two large and remarkable prefaces before his two volumes of sermons; and seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last will, made when he was, and apprehended himself to be, very near his death. And these Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war, begun by them, Dr. Sanderfon was ejected out of the professor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it (for he lived fourteen years after) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted, "that Dr. Sanderfon was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit

"and, perhaps, upon the city's also: and this hath been lately practised against myself, the magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from parish to parish, without any check. God forgive the setters of this (with all my heart I beg it); but many well-meaning people are caught by it."

¹ Mr. Evelyn informs us, that he was at Rome in the company of divers of the English fathers, when the news of the Archbishop's sufferings, and a copy of his sermon made upon the scaffold, came thither. They read the sermon, and commented upon it, with no small satisfaction and contempt, and looked on him as one that was a great enemy to them, and stood in their way; while one of the blackest crimes imputed to him was his being Popishly affected.

“nefit of all the learned that fhall be born after him:” But this benefit is fo like time paff, that they are both irrecoverably loft.

I fhould now return to Boothby Pannell where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together, but neither can now be found there: For the firft was, in his journey to London, and the fecond feized upon the day after his friend’s departure, and carried prifoner to Lincoln, then a garrifon of the Parliament’s. For the pretended reason of which commitment, I fhall give this following account:

There was one Mr. Clarke (the minifter of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannell) who was an active man for the Parliament and covenant; and one that, when Belvoire caſtle (then a garrifon for the Parliament) was taken by a party of the King’s foldiers, was taken in it, and made a prifoner of war in Newark (then a garrifon of the King’s); a man fo active and ufeful for his party, that they became fo much concerned for his enlargement, that the Committee of Lincoln ſent a troop of horſe to ſeize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prifoner to that garrifon; and they did fo. And there he had the happineſs to meet with many that knew him fo well as to reverence and treat him kindly; but told him, “he muſt continue their prifoner, till he ſhould purchaſe his own enlargement by procuring an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then prifoner in the King’s garrifon of Newark.” There were many reaſons given by the-doctor of the injuſtice of his imprifonment, and the inequality of the exchange, but all were ineffectual: For done it muſt be, or he continue a prifoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions:

Fiſt, that Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being exchanged ſhould live undiſturbed at their own pariſhes; and if either were injured by the foldiers of the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, ſhould procure him a redreſs, by having ſatisfaction made for his loſs, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be uſed in the ſame kind by the other party. Nevertheless Dr. Sanderson could neither live ſafe, nor quietly, being ſeveral times plundered and once wounded in three places; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forbore both: and poſſeſſed his ſoul in a contented quietneſs, without the leaſt repining. But though he could not enjoy the ſafety he expected

expected by, this exchange, yet by his providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned so much to his advantage, that whereas his living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his imprisonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but more contented subsistence for himself, his wife, and children, till the happy restoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation, and sincerity became so remarkable, that there were many that applied themselves to him for resolution in perplexed cases of conscience; some known to him and many not; some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds; yet, as St. Paul accounted himself "a debtor to all men," so he, for he denied none. And if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, "that all wordly joys seem less, when compared with shewing mercy, or doing kindneses;" then doubtless this Barnabas, this son of consolation, Dr. Sanderfon, might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded consciences; which, as Solomon says, "are a burden that none can bear," though their fortitude may sustain their other calamities; and if words cannot express the joy of a conscience relieved from such restless agonies; then Dr. Sanderfon might rejoice, that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied; and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion; and that "God had inclined his heart to do it, to the meanest of any of those poor, but precious souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified."

Some of those very many cases that were resolved by letters have been preserved and printed for the benefit of posterity; as namely:—

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| 1. Of the Sabbath. | 5. Of scandal. |
| 2. Marrying with a Recusant. | 6. Of a bond taken in the King's name |
| 3. Of unlawful love. | 7. Of the engagement. |
| 4. Of a military life. | 8. Of a rash vow. |

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony; and I wish the world might see it, that it might undeceive so many mistaken

taken patrons, who think they have discharged that great and dangerous trust, both to God and man if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable, which I forbear to name.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown restless and giddy by the many falsehoods, and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons, when they wrested the scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous phrenzies in this time^m, he did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened such an undertaking with danger; yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his last 20 sermons, (first printed in the dangerous year 1655), in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Non-conformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed of a good sequestered living; and with it such a spirit of covetousness and contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifested (his conscience having slept long and quietly in that living) was yet at the reading of it so awakened, (for there is a divine power in reason) that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was still to sustain, if he consented to it, and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being over-reasoned, he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened him, and told him in anger, "he had sold a book in which there was false divinity; and that the preface " had upbraided the Parliament, and many godly ministers of that party for
" unjust

^m Of the impious and insolent familiarity, with which the preachers of these times addressed the Supreme Being, too many proofs are extant.

One of these preachers thus boldly expostulates. "O Lord, when wilt thou take a chair, " and sit among the House of Peers? And when, O God, when, I say, wilt thou vote among " the honourable House of Commons, who are so zealous of thine honour?" Again, "Lord, " thou hast said, that he is worse than an Infidel, that provides not for his own family.— " Give us not reason to say this of thee, Lord; for we are of thine own family, and yet have " been scurvily provided for of a long time." See many other instances in "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence."

“unjust dealing.” To which his reply was, (’twas Tim. Garthwaiteⁿ) that “’twas not his trade to judge of true or false divinity, but to print and sell books; and yet if he, or any friend of his, would write an answer to it, and own it by setting his name to it, he would print the answer, and promote the selling of it.”

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London, in sad-coloured clothes, and God knows, far from being costly: The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand: We had no inclination to part presently, and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a pent-house (for it began to rain) and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for our ready money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations of the present times with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader. He seemed to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the grief and scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and necessary use of it with their blood: And that no minister was now thought godly that did not decry it; and, at least, pretend to make better prayers *ex tempore*: And that they, and only they that could do so, prayed by the spirit, and were godly; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the Common Prayer of the church, saying, “The Holy
“Ghost

ⁿ Several books which appeared at this time were printed for “Timothy Garthwaite, at the little north door of St. Pauls.” In 1660 “The Gentleman’s Calling” was published, with an epistle addressed to Mr. Garthwaite, recommending an impression of it, dated “Sarum, Oct. 27, 1659, your assured friend, HUM. H.”—that is, Humphrey Hinchman, afterward Bishop of Salisbury, and then of London. To this industrious bookseller the literary world is obliged for the preservation of the Letters of Mr. John Hales of Eton, written from the Synod of Dort. See Mr. Faringdon’s address to Mr. Garthwaite, prefixed to “Golden Remains,” 1673.

“ Ghost seemed to assist the composers; and, that the effect of a constant
 “ use of it would be, to melt and form the soul into holy thoughts and
 “ desires; and beget habits of devotion.” This he said; and that “ the
 “ collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant comprehen-
 “ sive expressions that any language ever afforded; and that there was in
 “ them such piety, and that, so interwoven with instructions, that they
 “ taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of
 “ God, and much of our duty both to him and our neighbour; and that a
 “ congregation behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God,
 “ these joint and known desires for pardon of sins, and their praises for
 “ mercies received, could not but be more pleasing to God, than those raw
 “ unpremeditated expressions which many understood not, and to which
 “ many of the hearers could not say, *Amen*.”

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter or Psalms
 of David, speaking to this purpose, “ That they were the treasury of
 “ Christian comfort, fitted for all persons and all necessities, able to raise
 “ the soul from dejection by the frequent mention of God’s mercies to re-
 “ pentant sinners; able to stir up holy desires; to increase joy; to moderate
 “ sorrow; to nourish hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God’s lei-
 “ sure for what we beg: Able to beget a trust in the mercy, power, and
 “ providence of our Creator; and to cause a resignation of ourselves to his
 “ will; and then (and not till then) to believe ourselves happy.” This
 he said the Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of
 the last they would not only prove to be our souls’ comfort, but would be-
 come so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that com-
 posed them. After this manner he expressed himself and sorrow, concern-
 ing the Liturgy and Psalms; and seemed to lament that this, which was the

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devotion

“ The Psalms,” says Dr. Donne, (*Donne’s Sermons, Vol. I. p. 663.*) “ are the Manna of
 “ the Church.” As Manna tasted to every man like that that he liked best, so do the Psalms
 minister instruction and satisfaction to every man in every emergency or occasion. How
 beautiful are the late Bishop Horne’s sentiments on this subject. Happier hours than those
 which have been spent in meditations on the songs of Sion he never expects to see in this
 world; and he has justly remarked, that the Psalms are calculated alike to profit and to please;
 they inform the understanding, elevate the affections, and entertain the imagination.

devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about free-will, election, and reprobation, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, "they might be religious first, and then just and merciful; that they might sell their consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were elected, though their lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise; that to be rich was to be happy, though it is evidently false; that to speak evil of government, and to be busy in things they understood not, was no sin." These, and the like mistakes, he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and single-heartedness, with which this nation was blessed, before the unhappy covenant was brought amongst us, and every man preached and prayed what seemed best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, "that the way to restore this nation to a more meek, and Christian temper, was to have the body of divinity (or so much of it as was needful to be known by the common people) to be put into fifty-two homilies, or sermons, of such a length as not to exceed a third or fourth part of an hour's reading; and these needful points to be made so clear and plain, that those of a mean capacity might know what was necessary to be believed, and what God requires to be done; and then some plain applications of trial and conviction: and these to be read every Sunday of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body at a set time; and then as certainly begun again, and continued the year following".

And

Of the homilies appointed to be read in churches, it must be allowed, that they abound with strange phrases, with obsolete and uncouth expressions, with coarse and inapposite applications of scripture; not to enumerate some more essential defects. And though an entire dissent may not be withheld from the declaration of an eminent prelate, that "the second, third, fourth, and fifth homilies exhibit an unexceptionable summary of doctrine, upon the important

And he explained the reason of this his desire, by saying to me, “ All
 “ grammar scholars that are often shifted from one to another school, learn
 “ neither so much, nor their little so truly, as those that are constant to one
 “ good master : because, by the several rules of teaching in those several
 “ schools, they learn less, and become more and more confused ; and, at last,
 “ so puzzled and perplexed, that their learning proves useles both to them-
 “ selves and others. And so do the immethodical, useles, needles, notions
 “ that are delivered in many sermons, make the hearers ; but a clear and
 “ constant rule of teaching us what we are to know, and do, and what not,
 “ and that taught us by an approved authority, might probably bring the
 “ nation to a more conscientious practice of what we know, and ought to
 “ do.” Thus did this prudent man explain the reason of this his desire :
 and oh ! that he had undertaken what he advised ; for then, in all proba-
 bility, it would have proved so useful, that the present age would have been
 blessed by it ; and posterity would have blessed him for it.

And, at this happy time of my enjoying his company and this discourse,
 he expressed a sorrow by saying to me, “ O that I had gone chaplain to that
 “ excellently accomplished gentleman, your friend, Sir Henry Wotton !
 “ which was once intended when he first went ambassador to the state of
 “ Venice : for by that employment I had been forced into a necessity of con-
 “ versing, not with him only, but with several men of several nations ; and
 “ might thereby have kept myself from my unmanly bashfulness, which has
 “ proved very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to me ; and which I
 “ now fear is become so habitual as never to leave me^a : and besides, by
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“ important points which they tend to illustrate, and an excellent model of composition for
 “ popular instruction ;” yet the prosecution of the plan recommended by Dr. Sanderson, with
 the addition of some discourses to be used on the festivals, cannot fail of being attended with
 the most beneficial consequences. The expediency of such a work will appear to be at this
 time more immediately necessary, when we consider the recent introduction and too extensive
 circulation of those miserable and motley discourses, which, under the direction of venal com-
 pilers, are sold at a low price, to supply the lazy and the ignorant.

^a “ Is unus, quem et fateri pudet, pudor plusquam subrusticus, et, quam facile patior
 “ amicos, amoris quodam errore, modestiam interpretari, invirilis quædam verecundia.—
 “ Infuperabilis

“ that means, I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction
 “ of seeing one of the late miracles of mankind, for general learning, pru-
 “ dence, and modesty, Sir Henry Wotton’s dear friend, Padre Paulo, who,
 “ the author of his life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible as I
 “ have found my own to be : A man whose fame must never die, till virtue
 “ and learning shall become so useless as not to be regarded.”

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour’s conversation : and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happiness, and his great humility and condescension. I had also a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am desirous to impart in this place to the reader. He lamented much, that in those times of confusion many parishes where the maintenance was not great, there was no minister to officiate ; and that many of the best sequestered livings were possessed with such rigid covenanters as denied the sacrament to their parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner as they could not with a good conscience take it : This he mentioned with much sorrow, saying, “ The blessed sacrament did, even by way of preparation for it, give occa-
 “ sion to all conscientious receivers to examine the performance of their
 “ vows, since they received that last seal for the pardon of their sins past ;
 “ and also to examine and research their hearts, and make penitent reflec-
 “ tions on their failings ; and, that done, to bewail them seriously, and then
 “ make new vows or resolutions to obey all God’s commands better, and
 “ beg his grace to perform them. And that this being faithfully done, then
 “ the sacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities,
 “ gives us grace to beg God’s grace, and then gives us what we beg ;
 “ makes us still hunger and thirst after his righteousness, which we then
 “ receive, and being assisted with our own endeavours, will still so dwell in
 “ us, as to become our sanctification in this life, and our comfort on our
 “ last sick-beds.” The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.

I hope

“ Insuperabilis illa quidem, ut quam natura iniecit, formavit educatio, fovit hactenus atq;
 “ etiamnum fovet tenuitatis propriæ conscientia: Sed quæ tamen vix aliud comperi quidquam
 “ a primâ pueritiâ ad hunc usq; diem aut rationibus meis, aut existimationi magis adversa
 “ rium.” (*Oratio habita in Scholâ Theologicâ Oxon. a R. S. sacre Theologia, &c. 12. Oct. 1646.*)

I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. As first, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested an endearing affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm and so matchless a fortitude, as secured him from complying with any of those many Parliamentary injunctions that interfered with a doubtful conscience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wisdom useful, his integrity visible, and his whole life so unspotted, so like the primitive Christians, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after, the clergy especially, who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God whose pure eyes abhor iniquity, and especially in them.

There was in his sermons no improper rhetoric, nor such perplexed divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes that the sight becomes less perfect: But in them there was no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser, and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions^r.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as it was only overcome by his bashfulness: for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius, without book; and would say, "the repetition of one of the odes of Horace to himself
(which

^r If we had not the most convincing proofs of the indefatigable diligence, with which the divines of the two last centuries applied themselves to study, it would be difficult to suppose that they could find time to collect the vast mass of matter, that forms the substance of their works. And to digest that matter seems to require a man's whole life.—In extent of erudition, Dr. Sanderson was surpassed by none of his contemporaries. He is clear and perspicuous in his argumentation, easy and natural in his language. But his far-fetched introductions, his tedious repetitions of division and subdivision, are disgusting. In compliance with the prevailing mode of the times, he introduces Latin quotations, even when he preaches to the common people; herein unlike to Dr. Edward Pocock, who was described by one of his country parishioners, as "a plain honest man, but no Latiner." In his discourses, we meet with the most comprehensive and the most accurate knowledge of classic antiquity. Thoroughly conversant in the best writings of Greece and Rome, he illustrates his own sentiments by the most apposite applications from those treasures of learning.

" (which he did often) was to him such music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they played it voluntarily to themselves or friends."

And though he was blessed with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did usually over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and reconsider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his divinity lectures in Oxford; and all the scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolved and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend, Dr. Sheldon would often say of him, namely, " That his judgment was so much superior to his fancy, that whatsoever this suggested, that disliked and controlled; still considering and reconsidering, till his time was so wasted, that he was forced to write, not, probably, what was best, but what he thought last." And yet what he did then read, appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applause.

These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him some averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because during that time they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not suffer his mind to be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions; yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave a pleasant

* " He was the most diligent collector of genealogies I ever knew in these parts, especially of Lincolnshire." (*Thoroten's History of Nottinghamshire*, p. 475.)

† In his Articles of Visitation, in 1662, the clergy within the county of Lincoln are desired to bring with them, in writing, a note of all such coats of arms as are in the church windows, and of all such monuments, grave-stones, and inscriptions, whether of ancient or later times, as are yet remaining in their several respective churches or chapels, or the chancels thereof.

In one of his sermons he has a continued allusion to this his favourite science: " Consider this, you that are of noble or generous birth. Search your pedigrees, collect the scattered monuments and histories of your ancestors, and observe by what steps your worthy progenitors raised their houses to the height of gentry or nobility. You usurp their arms, if you inherit not their virtues: and those ensigns of honour and gentry, which they by industry achieved,

" fit

a pleasant rest to his mind". Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable volumes, and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this holy humble man had so conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness; always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family; nor suffered him in the times of trial to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolved with David, "That his praise should be always in his mouth."

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and much more might be added of all: But I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men (clergymen especially) were sufferers; namely, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very pitiful condition as to his estate^x: And in that time Mr. Robert Boyle, a gentleman

"fit no otherwise upon your shoulders, than as rich *trappings* upon asses' backs. If you, by brutish sensuality, and spending your time in swinish luxury, stain the colours and embase the metals of those badges of your gentry and nobility, which you claim by descent." (*Sanderson's Sermons*, p. 212.)

"Thus did this good man innocently employ the hours of his relaxation from severer studies. Animated by this bright example, let the clergy be induced occasionally to extend their inquiries to other matters besides divinity. Dr. Sanderson observed it "very requisite that ministers should have a competent skill in history, mathematics, law, and physic, to entertain the ingenious and to advise the ignorant, who expect the priest's lips should preserve all knowledge, and that the people should receive it from their mouths." (*Reason and Judgment*, &c. p. 27.)

^x "Dr. Sanderson had at that time a wife and children, *was reduced to great poverty, and, in the year 1658, was in a very pitiful condition.* But, living to the restoration, he was reinstated in his professorship and canonry in August, 1660; and in October the same year consecrated to the bishopric of Lincoln, the palace of which, at Buckden, he repaired; and, as fines came in, augmented several poor vicarages, notwithstanding he was old and had a family; which when his friends suggested to him, he made them this return, "that he left them to God," and

man of a very noble birth^v, and more eminent for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives, having

“and hoped he should be able to give them a competency;” though whether he did or not I am not informed, only the contrary seems probable, because he enjoyed the bishopric but a very little time.” (*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 105.)—“Of his state of poverty, see “*Tracts by Morley, Bishop of Winchester*,” published in 1683, and “*Kenner's Register*,” p. 209.

The following incident, which is said to be well authenticated, proves the indigence to which Dr. Sanderfon was reduced at one time, as well as the esteem in which he was held by those who knew him. Having been pillaged by soldiers, and left destitute, he sent his old servant, as he was wont in better times, to Grantham, to purchase provisions, telling him, that though he could not supply him with money, he doubted not but that God would provide for his family. A company of gentlemen, seeing the servant loitering in the market, reproved his idleness. The servant related his master's great distress, and the errand upon which he was sent. The good doctor's wants were cheerfully and liberally supplied by the company, and the servant was dismissed, loaded with provisions.

Yet the author of “*The Confessional*” hath observed, that Dr. Calamy exhibits a different representation, informing us, that “a certain worthy clergyman of the Church of England, Mr. Stephens of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, gave him an account, that, to his knowledge, the doctor was far from being reduced to any poverty, in those times; nor was he in a pitiful condition in 1658. He lived in as much plenty as the better sort of clergy did, upon his rectory, and maintained his children fashionably. His living was valued at 130 or 140 pounds per annum, and he had money besides which did not lie dead. For though he did not put it out to interest in the ordinary way, which he had written against; yet did he dispose of it in a way really more advantageous to the lender, and sometimes to the borrower. For he would give a hundred pounds for twenty pounds for seven years. This he thought lawful, but not the common way, which occasioned reflections from several on his casuistical skill. This, he (Mr. Stephens) said, was the common report; and one that was his agent in disposing of the money, assured him of the truth of it.” (*The Church and Dissenters compared as to Persecution*, p. 78.)—From the general character of Dr. Sanderfon, thus cruelly aspersed, the candid reader will determine what degree of credit is due to the above evidence. The sarcasms on the casuistry of this eminent divine, if they deserve notice, are best answered by the words of Archbishop Usher: “I proposed,” says he, “the case to judicious Dr. Sanderfon, who “grasped all the circumstances of it, and returned that happy answer, that met all my “thoughts, satisfied all my scruples, and cleared all my doubts.”

^v Mr. Boyle, the glory of his age and nation; died December 30, 1691, having survived his beloved sister, Lady Ranelagh, only one week. To the accomplishments of a scholar and a gentle-

having casually met with and read his Lectures *de Juramento*, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition, by his not complying with the Parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow² (the now learned Bishop of Lincoln) 50l. and

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a gentleman, he added the most exalted piety, the purest sanctity of manners. His unbounded munificence was extended to the noblest and most honourable purposes—the advancement of true religion in almost all parts of the world. A firm friend to the Church of England, he was one of her brightest ornaments. So long as goodness, learning, and charity, are held in estimation, the name of Boyle will be revered.

At Oxford, which was then the asylum of learned men, Mr. Boyle fixed his residence in 1654, that he might pursue his philosophical, critical, and theological studies. Here he formed a strict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time principal Librarian of the Bodleian Library.—Lord Orrery, in his notes on “Pliny’s Epistles,” B. VI. Ep. 16. has compared Mr. Boyle, in his philosophical character, to Pliny the Elder, as resembling him in “his constitution of body, and his speculative turn of mind, and his too great credulity in believing “all men as sincere and ingenuous as himself.”

² Dr. Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queen’s College, Oxford, was appointed Bishop of Lincoln in 1675, and dying, in 1691, was buried on the north-side of the chancel of the church of Bugden, near to the body of Dr. Sanderson, and, at his own request, in the grave of Dr. William Barlow, one of his predecessors, whose monument being destroyed in the late civil war, he caused another to be erected, and also one for himself, with an inscription written by him, a few days before his death. From his incomparable knowledge both in theology and church-history, and the ecclesiastical law, the character which Cicero gave of Crassus has been applied to him: “Non unus e multis, sed unus inter omnes singularis.” His great zeal against Popery was considerably abated after the accession of James II.; and it is much to be regretted, that we do not find his name among those ever-venerable prelates, who, in the hour of danger, stood forth the champions of the Protestant religion, by their steady opposition to the mandates of arbitrary power.

Dr. Sanderson, in consequence of this application, communicated by Dr. Barlow from Mr. Boyle, published his treatise entitled “De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælectiones Decem Oxonii in Scholâ Theologicâ habitæ, Anno Domini 1647,” and addressed it to Mr. Boyle in an elegant dedication, dated at Boothby Pannell, Nov. 22, 1659, wherein he commends his patron, “cum natalium splendore illustrem, tum generosæ mentis indole, amore literarum, “humanitate, pietate, et omni virtutum genere multo etiam illustriorem, mihi tamen, *delitescenti nimirum in parvâ Casulâ suaviter, nec quid rerum foris geratur, præsertim ut nunc sunt “tempora, multum sollicito, de facie nunquam ante paucos menses, nec de nomine quidem, “adeoq; ne nunc tandem nisi solâ munificentia notum.”*

with it a request and promise: The request was, "that he would review "the Lectures *de Conscientia*, which he had read when he was Doctor of "the Chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of posterity;" and this Dr. Sanderfon did in the year 1659. And the promise was, "that he "would pay him that, or, if he desired it, a greater sum yearly, during his "life, to enable him to pay an amanuensis, to ease him from the trouble of "writing what he should conceive or dictate." For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ to me by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the beginning of the year 1600, when the many mixed sects, and their creators, and merciless protectors, had led, or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion both in church and state; when amazement and fear had seized most of them by foreseeing they must now not only vomit up the Church's and the King's land, but their accusing consciences did also give them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the god of opposition, disobedience, and confusion, which they had so long and so diligently feared, was now ready to reward them with such wages as he always pays to witches for their obeying him^a; when these wretches (that had said to themselves, "we shall see no sorrow") were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return, and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderfon (and with him many of the oppressed clergy and others) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it; then the 29th of May following, the King was by our good God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and then a general joy and peace seemed to breath through the three nations; the suffering and sequestered clergy

^a This allusion may admit some apology, when it is considered, that the opinion concerning the reality of witchcraft was not exploded even at the end of the seventeenth century. The prejudices of popular credulity are not easily effaced. Men of learning, either from conviction, or from some other equally powerful motive, adopted the system of demonology advanced by James I.; and it was only at a recent period that the Legislature repealed the act made in the first year of the reign of that monarch, entitled "an Act against Conjurament, Witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits."

A preacher from Queen's College, Cambridge, is required to deliver a discourse against witchcraft, diabolical contracts, &c. at Huntingdon, every year, on the 25th day of March. See "Smith's Select Discourses," p. 442.

clergy (who had, like the children of Israel, sat long lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were, after many thoughtful days and restless nights, now freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to Almighty God publicly, in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this happy day, and be of this number^b.

At this time of the conformable clergy's deliverance from the Presbyterian severities, the doctor said to a friend, "I look back on this strange and happy turn of the late times, with amazement and thankfulness; and cannot but think the Presbyterians ought to read their own errors, by considering that by their own rules the Independents have punished and supplanted them, as they did the conformable clergy, who are now (so many as still live) restored to their lawful right; and, as the prophet David hath taught me, so I say, with a thankful heart, 'Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth: and a reward for the righteous.'"

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times, men of learning, prudence, and virtue, were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of Episcopal government, and often refused it. For they conscientiously considered, that the office of a bishop was not made up of ease and state, but of labour and care: that they were trusted to be God's almoners of the church's revenue, and double their care for the church's good and the poor; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers, and clergy, became examples of innocence and piety to others; and that the account of that stewardship must, at the last dreadful day, be made to the Searcher of all hearts: and, for these reasons, they were in the primitive times timorous to undertake it. It may not be said, that Dr. Sanderson was accomplished with these, and all the other requisites required in a bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly; but

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^b On July 20, 1660, some of the clergy of the county of Lincoln, in the name of the rest, being brought into the royal presence, the Earl of Manchester presented an address to the King, by the hands of the reverend and most learned Dr. Sanderson, accompanied by that worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Meers. This address, of which there is a copy in "Kennet's Register," p. 209, was probably penned by Dr. Sanderson.

it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years (for he was so old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man than are apparent in others in these days, in which, God knows, we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity.— This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderfon; as namely, that at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Archbishop of Canterbury (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderfon more or better), was by his Majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant bishoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderfon, and therefore humbly desired the King that he would nominate him: and, that done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderfon that he would, for God's and the Church's sake, take that care and charge upon him. Dr. Sanderfon had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it, and would often say, "he had not led himself, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily prayed against; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares, and endeavours might promote his glory, and help forward the salvation of others."

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c. "He was made Bishop, with the universal vote of all good men in 1660, as who expected his prudence, counsel, equanimity, and moderation, equal with his other abilities, might allay animosities, close differences, heal men's distempers, and work a right understanding; all men imagining his gravity might awe, his goodness oblige, his moderation temper, his reason persuade, and his approved sincerity prevail upon all men otherwise minded; for he was not only a man of much learning and reading, but of a mature understanding, and a mellow judgment, in all matters politic and prudential, both ecclesiastical and civil." (*Reason and Judgment*, p. 39.)—"He had this advantage of other men, that, when he entered upon that employment which lay open to the malice and envy of so many, his life was so spotless, his integrity so eminent, that partiality itself could not accuse him: he being a man of solid worth, in whom was nothing dubious or dark, nothing various or inconstant, nothing formal or affected, nothing as to his public carriage that was suspected, nothing that needed palliation or apology. I never heard of any thing said or done by him, which a wise and good man would have wished not said or undone." (*Ib.* p. 40.)

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishopric, and am next to tell that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, at Westminster, the 28th of October, 1660^d.

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the Church, might have a satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the church-service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty; of which last, some were then preferred to power and dignity in the church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate, and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual: For there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy, in the Strand^e: and the points debated

^d A sermon was preached at the consecration of the right reverend Fathers in God Gilbert (Sheldon) Lord Bishop of London, Humphrey (Henchman) Lord Bishop of Sarum, George (Morley) Lord Bishop of Worcester, Robert (Sanderson) Lord Bishop of Lincoln, George (Griffith) Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, on Sunday October 28, 1660, at St. Peter's, Westminster, by John Sudbury, D. D. and one of the prebendaries of that church, on 1 *Tim.* iii. 1.—It was dedicated to Lord Hyde the Chancellor, who was present, and at whose desire it was printed.

^e At the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy. A person in the least degree conversant in the transactions of this memorable period will determine whether this conference deserves to be called "a complication of sophistry, hypocrisy, and virulence, on the part of the "orthodox, hardly to be paralleled in a Popish history." See the Preface to the first edition of "The Confessional," p. xxix.

"The Bishops, being provoked by their long sufferings, and not brooking to have laws prescribed to them by those who had been the occasion thereof, were not very forward to make any alterations which were proposed by the Presbyterians, even in some things as might have deserved consideration; refusing them so much as the change of *deadly sin*, in the Liturgy, into *heinous sin*.

"The Presbyterians, on the other hand, heaped together all the old exceptions, which the Puritans, for two years, had raised against the Liturgy, with the addition of some new ones. But Mr. Baxter's new-fangled Liturgy, drawn up in a method which was warranted by no ancient

bated were, I think, many (and I think many of them needles); some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates, being at first in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed, as satisfied neither party. For sometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or mistaken, or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. And that the debate might become more satisfactory and useful, it was therefore resolved, that the day following the desires and reasons of the Nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren; yet I am sure Mr. Richard Baxter^f was one, and I am sure also
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ancient forms, either Greek or Latin, was looked on by all, on the church side, with the greatest disdain. And, indeed, it is an occasion of no little wonder to think, that so many learned men of the Presbyterian side could ever be persuaded to give their consent to let such an odd performance of that kind be laid before Bishops Cofin, Morley, Nicholson, Pearson, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Heylin, Mr. Thorndike, &c. men so admirably versed in antiquity and liturgical learning: and this especially, when they were directed by the commission to compare the Common Prayer Book with the most ancient Liturgies, which have been used in the church, in the most primitive and purest times; and to avoid, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the Forms and Liturgy, wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England." (*Dr. Nicholl's Preface to his Comment. on the Common Prayer, p. ix, x.*)—Charles II. in his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, proposed to the dissatisfied part of the clergy, that they would read so much of the Liturgy, as they themselves had no exception against. But, in many of them, he could not prevail for so much as one syllable, not one collect, no nor so much as one chapter, according to the rubric; so much doth yielding work upon that good generation. See "Kennet's Register," p. 432.

^f Mr Baxter's genius, like that of many other reformers, was "ten times apter for pulling down than for building up." "Baxter," says Bishop Burnet, "was a man of great piety, and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age. He writ near two hundred books. Of these three are large folios. He had a moving and pathetic way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and simplicity, but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in every thing. Great submission was paid to him by the whole party. So he persuaded them, that, from the words of the commission, they were bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to the
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one of the points debated was, "Concerning a command of lawful Superiors, what was sufficient towards its being a lawful command?—This following proposition was brought by the conforming party :

"That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus : One was, "Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in itself; and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command." Another was, "That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason, then given in with his own hand in writing, thus : "Because the first act commanded may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly, or *per accidens*, any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act
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good or peace of the church, without considering what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding so much might have in irritating the minds of those who were then the superior body in strength and number.

"The good Sir Matthew Hale lived in habits of intimacy with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour, and whom he considered as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very subtle and quick apprehension : their conversation lay most in metaphysical and abstracted ideas and schemes." (*Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale*, p. 35.)

“*per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty.”

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same reasons.

PETER GUNNING^s.

JOHN PEARSON^h.

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^s Dr. Peter Gunning was a resolute defender of his Majesty King Charles the First's cause and right, and the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, against all sorts of sectaries, with whom he had almost daily public disputes in their congregations, for which he underwent all sorts of obloquy, hardships, and imprisonments. At the restoration, he was made, first, Prebendary of Canterbury, Master of Bennet, and soon after of St. John's College in Cambridge; then Regius Professor of Divinity, Bishop of Chichester, and, lastly, of Ely, in possession of which see he died, in 1684. (*Magna Britannia*, p. 575, 576.)

Bishop Burnet has observed, that Gunning was a man of great reading, and noted for a special subtilty of writing; that in this conference all the arts of sophistry were made use of by him in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning. He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpose. He was much set on reconciling us with Popery, and set himself with great zeal to clear the Church of Rome from idolatry. This made many suspect him as inclining to go over. But he was far from it, and was a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs. He was for conforming in all things to the rules of the primitive church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the use of oil, and many other things. He formed many in Cambridge upon his own notions, who have perhaps carried them farther than he intended. Baxter and he spent some days, in much logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who said, “here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes, that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect.” See “Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times.”

^h Dr. John Pearson, the son of a private clergyman in Norfolk, and grandson to Vaughan Bishop of London, was elected from Eton school into King's College in Cambridge, in 1632. He was fellow of that college for some time, and in 1639 was collated by Bishop Davenant to the prebend of Netherhaven in the church of Sarum, the same which Mr. Hooker formerly enjoyed. In 1642, he was minister of St. Clement's East Cheap, London, where he preached those excellent sermons, which he afterward digested into his justly celebrated “Exposition of the Creed.” In 1657, he and Mr. Gunning distinguished themselves by a conference with two disputants of the Church of Rome. At the restoration he was rewarded with preferment, being appointed Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and successively Master of Jesus College, and of Trinity College; and at length was promoted to the see of Chester, on the death of Dr. Wilkins.

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These were then two of the disputants, still live, and will attest this; one being now Lord Bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the Dissenters (which I could, but forbear to name,) appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderson (who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other bishops) to say, with an unusual earnestness, "that he had never met with a man of more "pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all his conversation¹."

But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood

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Of the manner in which Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson conducted themselves at the Savoy conference, Mr. Baxter has given the following account:—"Dr. Pearson and Dr. Gunning did all their work (beside Bishop Morley's discourses), but with great difference in the manner. Dr. Pearson was their true logician and disputant, without whom, as far as I could discern, we should have had nothing from them, but Dr. Gunning's passionate invectives, mixed with some argumentations. He disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly, being but once in any passion, breeding in us a great respect for him, and a persuasion, that, if he had been independent, he would have been for peace; and that, if all were in his power, it would have gone well:—He was the strength and honour of that cause, which we doubted whether he heartily maintained. Dr. Gunning was their forwardest and greatest speaker, understanding well what belonged to a disputant, a man of greater study and industry than any of them, well read in fathers and councils, and of a ready tongue (and I hear and believe of a very temperate life as to all carnal excesses whatsoever), but so vehement for his high imposing principles, and so over zealous for Arminianism, and formality, and church-pomp, and so very eager and fervent in his discourse, that, I conceive, his prejudice and passion much perverted his judgment; and, I am sure, they made him lamentably over-run himself in his discourses." (*Reliq. Baxt.* p. 364.)

We must here regret a sad and melancholy instance of human imbecillity. This acute reasoner, this profound divine, the author of "The Exposition of the Creed," and of many other most learned works, was, for some years before his death, reduced to a state of childhood, and became totally deprived of his memory, and of the use of his mental faculties.

¹ "At this conference in the Savoy," Bishop Morley tells us, "the generality of the non-conforming divines shewed themselves unwilling to enter upon dispute; and seemed to like much better another way tending to an amicable and fair compliance, which was frustrated by a certain person's furious eagerness to engage in a disputation." (*The Protestant Peacemaker*, by Bishop Ruß, 1682.)—There is little doubt, but that Mr. Baxter is here meant.

the abilities of the other much better than before it: and the late distressed clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, were so charitable, as at their next meeting in convocation to contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction, by alteration, explanation, and addition, to some part both of the Rubric and Common Prayer; as also by adding some new necessary collects, with a particular collect of thanksgiving. How many of these new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderfon, I cannot say; but am sure the whole convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve and thank him.

At this convocation the Common-Prayer was made more complete by adding three new necessary offices; which were, "A Form of Humiliation for the murder of King Charles the Martyr;" "A Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his Son our King;" and "For the Baptizing of Persons of riper Age¹." I cannot say Dr. Sanderfon did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the convocation; and he did also, by desire of the convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea (now taken into the Service-Book). And it may be noted, that William^k, the now most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, was in these employments

¹ "It was thought convenient, that some prayers and thanksgivings, fitted to special occasions, should be added in their due places, particularly for those at sea, together with an office for the baptism of such as are of riper years; which, although not so necessary, when the former book was compiled, yet, by the growth of Anabaptism, through the licentiousness of the late times, crept in amongst us, is now become necessary, and may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the faith." (*Preface to the Common Prayer.*)

^k Dr. William Sancroft was, as his name imports, a man of incorrupt sincerity. If innocence of life, and rectitude of heart, ever demanded our esteem and veneration, this prelate is justly entitled to them. To a good conscience he sacrificed every worldly consideration.—When he lay upon his death-bed, he was visited by Mr. Needham, formerly one of his chaplains, who had differed from him in his political conduct. Having given him his benediction most affectionately, he said, "You and I have gone different ways in these late affairs; but I
" trust

employments diligently useful, and especially in helping to rectify the Kalendar and Rubric. And lastly, it may be noted, that for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be now known by this title, "The Preface¹:" and begins thus, "It hath been the wisdom of the church."

I shall now follow Dr. Sanderson to his bishopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his clergy, as to know and be known to most of them. And indeed he practised this like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannell, for there was all joy at his table when they came

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to

"trust that heaven's gates are wide enough to receive us both." Upon Mr. Needham's modest attempt to give an account of his own conduct, his Grace was pleased to reply; "I always took you for an honest man: What I said concerning myself was only to let you know, that what I have done I have done in the integrity of my heart, indeed in the great integrity of my heart." See his character finely drawn by Mr. Nelson, in "The Life of Dr. George Bull," p. 354.

Dr. John Pell, the first mathematician of the age in which he lived, and celebrated for his knowledge of ancient and modern languages, was the person, who, on Dec. 5, 1661, brought into the upper House of Convocation, the Kalendar reformed by him, with the assistance of Mr. Sancroft.

¹ "The Preface is said to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson, and it should seem by the style thereof to be his. However no mention of his being the author of it is made in the acts of the Upper House of Convocation. It is there only said, "Die Lun. 2. Decemb. Præfatium five. Exordium Libri Precum fuit Introduct. et Public. Perlect." On Monday the 2d of December, the Preface or Introduction to the Common Prayer-Book was brought in and read: But it is not said by whom. It was referred to a committee of the Upper House, to consider of it, who were Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely; Dr. Robert Skinner, Bishop of Oxon; Dr. Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of Sarum; and Dr. George Griffith, Bishop of St. Asaph. On the 13th of that month, the acts say, some amendments were made to the Preface."—(*Dr. Nicholl's Comment on the Common Prayer.*)—It may be further remarked, that the Prayers "for Ember Weeks," "for the Parliament," "for all Conditions of Men," were added at the review of the Liturgy in 1661.

to visit him: Then they prayed for him, and he for them with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied, but that the care and toil required of a bishop may justly challenge the riches and revenue with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them; and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good with it both to the present age and posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The bishop's chief house at Bugden, in the county of Huntington, the usual residence of his predecessors (for it stands about the midst of his diocese) having been at his consecration a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge^m. And to this may be added, that the King having by an injunction commended

^m Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, did wonders at his seat of Bugden, with the will of a liberal man, and the wit of a good surveyor: For, in the space of one year, with many hands and good pay, he turned a ruinous thing into a stately mansion. The out-houses were re-edified with convenient beauty, as well for use as uniformity: And the outward courts, which were next them, he cast into fair alleys, and grass-plats. Within doors, the cloisters were the trimmest part of his reparations: The windows of the square beautified with stories of coloured glass; the pavement laid smooth and new; and the walls, on every side, hung with pieces of exquisite workmen in limning, collected and provided long before. The like and better was done for the chapel in all these circumstances, and with as much cost as it was capable of. He loved stirring and walking, which he used two hours or more every day in the open air, if the weather served; especially if he might go to and fro, where good fountains and works of well-formed shape were about him. But that this was his innocent recreation, it would amount to an error, that he should bury so much money in gardens, arbours, orchards, pools for water-fowls, and for fish of all variety, with a walk raised three foot from the ground, of about a mile in compass, shaded and covered on each side with trees and pales. He that reports this knows best that all the nurseries about London for fair flowers and choice fruits were ransacked to furnish him. Alcinous, if he had lived at Bugden, could not have lived better. And all this, take it together, might have stood to become five ages after his reparation. *But what is there that appears now? or what remains of all this cost and beauty? All is dissipated, defaced, plucked to pieces to pay the army; following the rule, which Severus the Emperor gave to his sons Antoninus and Geta, "lucupletate Milites, ceteros contemnite!"* Here's nothing standing of all the bishop's delights and expence. "Nebuzar-adan, the servant of the King of Babylon, hath been there," 2 Kings, xxv. 8. and made profit of the havoc of the palace, though the building would have yielded more gain to have let it stand, than to be demolished. See "Bishop Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams," P. II. p. 29.

commended to the care of the bishops, deans, and prebends of all cathedral churches, the repair of them, their houses, and an augmentation of the revenue of small vicarages; he, when he was repairing Bugden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases. So fast, that a friend taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, "he was under his first fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and children that were yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity were consideredⁿ." To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, "It would not become a Christian Bishop to suffer those houses built by his predecessors to be ruined for want of repair; and less justifiable to suffer any of those poor vicars that were called to so high a calling as to sacrifice at God's altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of cheerfulness; and wished, that as this was, so it were also in his power to make all mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his wife and children, he hoped to leave them a competence, and in the hands of a God that would provide for all that kept innocence, and trusted in his providence and protection, which he had always found enough to make and keep him happy^o."

There was in his diocese a minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln College when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness: This minister asked the bishop what books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning? To which his answer was, "That he declined reading many books; but what he did read were well chosen^p"

ⁿ Dr. Sanderson had issue three sons, and two daughters. 1. Catharine, baptized May 27, 1621. Thomas, baptized Feb. 2, 1621, which Thomas was married at Lenton, otherwise Lavington, to Elizabeth Winlup, one of the daughters of Samuel Winlup, S. T. P. June 19, 1655, and is styled Doctor in Divinity. 3. Mary, baptized May 30, 1625, who was married to William Geery of Braunston, Clerk, Oct. 16, 1649. 4. Robert, baptized Nov. 18, 1630, and married to Anne Foxley, grand-daughter of Edward Foxley, senior, parish-clerk, May 17, 1658. 5. Henry, baptized Dec. 3, 1633. (*From the Parish Register of Boothby Pannell.*)

^o Among the subscribers towards the repair of the dilapidated buildings of Christ Church in Oxford, we find the name of Dr. Sanderson contributing eighty pounds. (*Kennet's Register, p. 345.*)

“ chosen^p, and read so often, that he became very familiar with them;” and told him, “ they were chiefly three, “ Aristotle’s Rhetoric,” “ Aquinas’s “ Secunda Secundæ^q,” and “ Tully,” but chiefly his “ Offices^r,” which he had “ not read over less than twenty times, and could at this age repeat without “ book.”

^p Luther advised all that intended to study in what art soever, that they should betake themselves to the reading of some sure and certain sorts of books oftentimes over and again; for to read many sorts of books produceth more and rather confusion, than to learn thereout any thing certainly or perfectly, like as those that dwell every where and remain certainly in no place, such do dwell no where, nor are any where at home. And like as in company we use not daily the community of all good friends, but of some few selected, even so likewise ought we to accustom ourselves to the best books, and to make the same familiar unto us, that is, to have them, as we use to say, at our finger’s ends. (*Luther’s Table Talk*, p. 507.) “ Nihil æque sanitatem impedit, quam remediorum crebra mutatio. Distrahit animum librorum multitudo. Itaque cum legere non possis quantum habueris, sat est habere quantum legas. Sed modo, inquis, hunc librum evolvere, modo illum. Fastidientis stomachi multa degustare: Quæ, ubi varia sunt et diversa, inquinant, non alunt. Probatos itaque semper lege: Et si quando ad alios divertere libuerit, ad priores redi.” (*Seneca Epistola. II.*)

^q Thomas Aquinas, usually styled “ The Angelic Doctor,” and “ The Eagle of Divines,” was the great luminary of the scholastic world, in the fourteenth century. He first introduced the philosophy of Aristotle, in direct opposition to several divines, and particularly to the Roman Pontiffs. It was usual, at that time, to compose and publish sums, or systematical collections of virtues and vices. “ The Second Part of the Sum of Thomas Aquinas was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the various duties that result from them.” (*Mosheim’s Eccles. Hist. Vol. III. p. 102.*) “ Notwithstanding the ridicule, which, in these days, attends the mere mention of the Angelic Doctor, I will venture to affirm,” says an eminent writer of the present age, “ That in that work ‘ The Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas,’ there are, mixed indeed with many “ difficult subtleties and perverse interpretations of scripture, not a few theological questions “ of great moment, stated with clearness and judgment.”

^r “ ‘ Tully’s Offices,’ a book which boys read and men understand, was so esteemed of my Lord Burleigh, that, to his dying day, he always carried it about him, either in his bosom or his pocket, as a complete piece, that, like ‘ Aristotle’s Rhetoric,’ would make both a scholar and an honest man.” (*Lloyd’s State Worthies.*)—En itaque quem in hoc scriptionis genere duces sequaris illum olim in Academia Oxoniensi Theologiæ Professore regium, SANDERSONUM: Hominem in primis dialecticum, neque vero minus oratorem: Qui horridiorem illam scholasticorum ἀριβίαν, elegantiae cujusdam novæ et singularis condimento temperatam exhibuit;

"book." And told him also, "The learned Civilian Doctor Zouch (who died lately) had writ "*Elementa Jurisprudentiæ*;" which was a book that he thought he could also say without book; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love, or commend it too much." And he told him "the study of these had been his toil; but for himself, he always had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplexed studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the descent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation."

Before I give an account of his last sickness, I desire to tell the reader, that he was of a healthful constitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: And this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way disable him from studying (indeed too much). In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason (for this distemper works not upon the understanding), he made his last will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what has been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He

exhibuit; ita ut de quolibet re subjectâ apté, distincté, graviter, nec inornatè verba faceret. Unde illi hæc eximia dicendi facultas accesserit rogas? Inde nimirum unde eandem et ipse facile possis depromere. Versabatur ille in M. T. Ciceronis Operibus non quidem oratoriis, quæ plus admirationis, quam imitationis habere videbantur, sed in philosophicis; quippe ad usus morales communesque magis attemperatis: Hæc ille continuo legere, relegere, eorum succum atque sanguinem haurire, in scripta sua transfundere. Itaque illi verborum neque delectus neque copia deerat." (*Dr. John Burton's Address to the Reader, prefixed to his Latin tract, entitled "Samuel."*)

* "In his apparel none more plain; in his diet none more temperate, 'eating,' as he would say, 'rationally, only for health and life.' One meal a-day sufficed him, with some fruit at night: in his sleep none more sparing; eleven or twelve at night being his usual time of going to rest, five, or very rarely six, the hour of his rising." (*Reason and Judgment, p. 16.*)

He did, in his last will, give an account of his faith and persuasion in point of religion and church-government, in these very words:—

I Robert Sanderson, Doctor of Divinity, an unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, and, by the providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my Will and Testament (written all with my own hand) revoking all former Wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself (infinitely polluted with sin), but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son and my most sweet Saviour, Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ, and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education (to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and impartial examination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the superstition

tion which the Puritans on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God the Father of Mercies, to preserve the Church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end: which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also farther humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious Sovereign, the reverend Bishops, and the Parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this Church in point of religion by the late great increase of Popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies as may prevent the same before it be too late.

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his will which follows:

As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish-church of Bugden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or, at the farthest, the third day after my decease; and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person, how near soever related to me, other than the inhabitants of Bugden; without the unnecessary expence of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and without any blacks to be hung any where in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning-gown for the preacher; whereof the former, after my body shall be interred, to be given to the preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the curate of the parish, for the time-being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my

cwn household chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains five pounds, upon condition that he speak nothing at all concerning my person either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to be laid over me, with this inscription, in legible Roman characters:—DEPOSITUM ROBERTI SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUAGESIMO SEXTO, HIC REQUIESCIT IN SPE BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS. — This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least howsoever testifying at my death, what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time, my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expences otherwise laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments,

* Prefixed to the inscription on his monument are his arms: and there is also an addition denoting the day on which he died, viz. January 29, 1662. Mr. James Heath (of whom see "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 337.) wrote an elegy with an epitaph on the much lamented death of Dr. Sanderson.

"It was the request of Rainbow Bishop of Carlisle, that no pomp or state should be used at his funeral, no more than any eulogium should be made of him (such was his rare modesty and humility); so did he desire to be buried in Dalston churchyard, and to have a plain stone laid over his grave, with no other inscription but that such a day and year died Edward, Bishop of Carlisle." *Life of Bishop Rainbow*, p. 81.)

entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which, if bestowed in pious and charitable works, might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons.—This is a part of his will.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662, and that his body was buried in Bugden, the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation, as he desired it; and all the rest of his will was as punctually performed. And when I have, to his just praise, told this truth, that he died far from being rich, I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his last sick-bed.

His last will, of which I have mentioned a part, was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength to decay, by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. Thus, as his natural life decayed, his spiritual life seemed to be more strong, and his faith more confirmed: still labouring to attain that holiness and purity, without which none shall see God. And that not any of his clergy (which are more numerous than any other bishop's of this nation) might suffer by his retirement, he did, by commission, empower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin^u, with episcopal power, to give institutions to all livings or church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement, which was wholly spent in devotion, he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends said their prayers backward for him; and that it was not his desire to live an useless life, and, by filling up a place, keep another out of it that might do God and his church more service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "that during his

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"being

^u Mr. John Pullin, B. D. and formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. We find his name subscribed to a copy of commendatory Latin verses prefixed to "Duport's Greek Version of Job." He was a Prebendary of Lincoln, and also Chancellor of Lincoln.

“ being a housekeeper, which was more than forty years, there had nor been one buried out of his family, and that he was now like to be the first.” He would also mention with thankfulness, “ that, till he was threescore years of age, he had never spent five shillings in law, nor, upon himself, so much in wine : and rejoiced much that he had so lived, as never to cause an hour’s sorrow to his good father ; and that he hoped that he should die without an enemy.”

He in this retirement had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day ; and at nine at night some prayers read to him and a part of his family, out of “ The Whole Duty of Man.” As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals : and his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he, expecting and calling for it, was answered, “ It would be ready in a quarter of an hour.” To which his reply was, with some earnestness, “ A quarter of an hour !—Is a quarter of an hour no thing to a man that probably has not many hours to live ?” And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days ; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary either of motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed. In which I desire he may rest, till I have given some short account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three days before his death) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express^a. After the praise and thanksgiving for this blessing was ended,

^a This narrative entirely confutes the rumour that was industriously propagated concerning this good man, “ that, before his death, he repented of what he had written against the Presbyterians, and that on his death-bed, he would suffer no hierarchical minister to come to pray with him, but desired, and had only Presbyterians about him :” And further to contradict

ended, he spake to this purpose : “ I have now to the great joy of my soul
 “ tasted of the all-saving sacrifice of my Saviour’s death and passion ; and
 “ with it received a spiritual assurance that my sins past are pardoned,
 “ and my God at peace with me : and that I shall never have a will or
 “ power to do any thing that may separate my soul from the love of my
 “ dear Saviour. Lord confirm this belief in me ; and make me still to re-
 “ member that it was thou, O God, that tookest me out of my mother’s
 “ womb, and hast been the powerful Protector of me to this present mo-
 “ ment of my life : thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become grey-
 “ headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation,
 “ and sacrifice my conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate.
 “ It was not of myself but by grace that I have stood, when others have
 “ fallen under my trials ; and these mercies I now remember with joy and
 “ thankfulness ; and my hope and desire is, that I may die remembering this,
 “ and praising thee, my merciful God.”—*The frequent repetition of the*
Psalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the pri-
mitive Christians : The Psalms having in them, not only prayers and holy in-
structions, but such commemorations of God’s mercies, as may preserve, comfort,
and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our
Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy Psalmist
 said, that “ his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and the
 “ night-watches, by meditating on God’s word ;”—so it was Dr. Sander-
 son’s constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts
 with a repetition of those very psalms that the Church hath appointed to
 be constantly read in the daily morning-service ; and having at night laid
 him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those
 appointed for the service of the evening ; remembering and repeating the
 very psalms appointed for every day ; and as the month had formerly ended
 and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if the first-fruits
 of

dict this report, Mr. Pullin, his household chaplain, published a sermon, preached at a vi-
 sitation holden at Grantham, Oct. 8, 1641, the last sermon that Dr. Sanderfon wrote with his
 own hand. This sermon was printed in 1681, with all his other sermons, in one volume
 folio.

of his waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it; he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth which is now the employment of Dr. Hammond and him in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution: and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be at more ease, and his mind more cheerful; and he said often, "Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be ever filled with thy praise." He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment: and, during that time, did often say to himself the 103d Psalm; a psalm that is composed of praise and consolations, fitted for a dying soul, and say also to himself very often these words, "My heart is fixed O God! my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found." And now his thoughts seemed to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepared that that king of terrors could not surprise him "as a thief in the night;" for he had often said, "he was prepared, and longed for it." And as this desire seemed to come from heaven, so it left him not, till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments

Thus Dr. Hammond, in his last sickness, did not by peevishness disquiet his attendants; but was pleased with every thing that was done, and liked every thing that was brought.—(*Life of Dr. Hammond*, p. 227.)—There are three of Archbishop Secker's sermons which I read repeatedly with serious attention—because they apply to a condition in which the lot of humanity will one day assuredly place me; unless it should please Almighty God to take me out of this world by a sudden death. They are "on the Duties of the Sick," from *Isai.* xxxviii. 1, 2. The following passage relates to our behaviour towards all who are about us in our sickness:—"We are strictly bound to shew them, peculiarly at that time, great humanity and goodness; not requiring from them more fatiguing and constant attendance than is fit; nor more care, skill, and dexterity than is to be expected: recollecting that our illness inclines us to imagine things amiss in a degree beyond reality, and that others ought not to suffer merely because we do: thinking often how disagreeable an office they go through, and what benefit and comfort we receive from it: begging them to forgive us those hasty fallies of fretfulness and impatience, that sometimes will escape us; and making them good amends, in every way that we can, for all the trouble which they take about us." (*Secker's Sermons*, Vol. III. p. 281.)

ployments are to join in concert with his, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought him and them into that place, "into which sin and sorrow cannot enter^a."

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life:—It is now too late to wish that mine may be like his: for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age; and God knows it hath not; but I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may: and I do as earnestly beg, that if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and as true relation, he will be so charitable as to say *Amen*^a.

I. W.

BLESSED IS THAT MAN IN WHOSE SPIRIT THERE IS NO GUILT. PSAL. XXXii. 24.

^a "Thus was he taken away with a happy euthanasia, composedly, peaceably, and comfortably departing, giving himself to prayer, meditations, and discourses, which his own strength could bear, full of the grace and peace of God, and confirmed by the absolution of the church." (*Reason and Judgment*, &c. p. 43.)

^a However diversified the conditions of men are, there is one common event to all. When the hour of death approaches, the distinctions of worldly pomp are of no avail. At that awful period every consolation will vanish, except that which flows from the consciousness of doing well, and the expectation of another life.—The examples recorded in the preceding pages present to our view the noblest of all spectacles—the calm composure, the pious resignation of good men, who, having finished their earthly course of virtuous conduct, anticipate the blessedness of the heavenly state, and, full of joyful hope and humble confidence in the merits of a Redeemer, close the last scene with dignity and honour.

"Sic mihi contingat vivere, sicque mori!"

THE Letter of Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, mentioned in page 482,
is inserted in the Life of Mr. Isaac Walton, prefixed to this work.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

I. "LOGICÆ ARTIS COMPENDIUM. *Oxon.* 1615."—8vo.

II. "PHYSICÆ SCIENTIÆ COMPENDIUM, a ROBERTO SANDERSON, Coll. Lincoln. in almâ Oxoniensi olim socio, &c. ante multos annos Lucis usuræ destinatum, nunc vero ex authentico Manuscripto primo Impressum. *Oxonix*, 1671."

III. SERMONS. "Dr. Sanderson's XII. Sermons, 1632." 4to.—"Dr. Sanderson's Sermons, (including the twelve before printed) 1664." Folio.—"Ditto, with his Life by Isaac Walton, 1689." Folio.

IV. "NINE CASES of CONSCIENCE DETERMINED, 1678, 1685." 8vo.—Several of these were printed separately. Two in 1658 (not in 1628, as Wood asserts). Three more in 1667. Another in 1674, and one in 1678.

The last of these Nine Cases is "Of the Use of the Liturgy;" the very same tract which was published by Isaac Walton in his "Life of Dr. Sanderson, 1678," under the title of "Bishop Sanderson's Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers." In this tract is given a full account of the manner in which Dr. Sanderson conducted himself, in performing the service of the church, in the times of the Usurpation.

V. "DE JURAMENTI PROMISSORII OBLIGATIONE PRÆLECTIONES SEPTEM: HABITÆ in SCHOLÂ THEOLOGICÂ OXONII, Termino Michaelis, anno Dom. MDCXLVI. a ROBERTO SANDERSON. Præmissâ Oratione ab eodem habitâ cum publicam Professionem auspicaretur, 26 Octob. 1646. *Lond.* 1647."

These Lectures were translated into the English language by Charles I. during his confinement in the Isle of Wight, and printed at London, in 1655.—8vo.

VI. "DE OBLIGATIONE CONSCIENTIÆ PRÆLECTIONES DECEM OXONII in SCHOLÂ THEOLOGICÂ HABITÆ, anno Dom. MDCXLVII. An English translation of the "Prelections on the Nature and Obligation of Promissory Oaths and of Conscience" was published in 3 vol. 8vo. *London*, 1722.

VII. "CENSURE of Mr. ANTON. ASCHAM his BOOK of the CONFUSIONS and REVOLUTIONS of GOVERNMENT. *London*, 1649."—8vo. Of Anthony Ascham, who was appointed by the Rump Parliament their agent, or resident in the Court of Spain, in 1649, and who was killed in his apartments, at Madrid, by some English Royalists, see "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 385.

VIII. "EPISCOPACY (as established by Law in England) NOT PREJUDICIAL to REGAL POWER. Written in the Time of the Long Parliament, by the special Command of the late King. *London, 1673.*"

IX. "DISCOURSE CONCERNING the CHURCH, in THESE PARTICULARS: First, concerning the Visibility of the true Church: Secondly, concerning the Church of Rome. *London, 1683.*" Published by Dr. W. Aiheton, of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, from a MS. communicated to him by Mr. John Pullen, the Bishop's domestic chaplain.

X. 1. "BISHOP SANDERSON'S JUDGMENT concerning SUBMISSION to USURPERS." 2. "PAX ECCLESIAE." 3. "BISHOP SANDERSON'S JUDGMENT in ONE VIEW for the SETTLEMENT of the CHURCH." This tract is written by way of question and answer. Anthony Wood tells us, that the questions were formed by the publisher, and that the answers were made up of scraps, without any alteration, taken out of the prefaces and sermons of the Bishop. 4. "REASONS of the present JUDGMENT of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD, concerning the SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT, the NEGATIVE OATH, the ORDINANCES concerning DISCIPLINE and WORSHIP. *London, 1678.*" These tracts are annexed to "Isaac Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderfon." 1678.

XI. A large "PREFACE" to a book written at the command of Charles I. by Archbishop Usher, and published by Dr. Sanderfon, entitled "The POWER communicated by GOD to the PRINCE, and the OBEDIENCE required of the SUBJECT. *London, 1661.*"—4to. A second corrected edition of this work was published in 8vo, 1683. See "Kennet's Register," p. 347.

XII. "A PREFATORY DISCOURSE" prefixed to a collection of Treatises, entitled 'CLAVI TRABALES, or NAILES fastened by some great MASTERS of ASSEMBLIES, concerning the KING'S SUPREMACY and CHURCH GOVERNMENT under BISHOPS; the particulars of which are as followeth:

' 1. Two Speeches of the late Lord Primate Usher's. The one of the King's Supremacy; the other of the Duty of Subjects to supply the King's Necessities.

' 2. His Judgment and Practice in point of Loyalty, Episcopacy, Liturgy, and Constitutions of the Church of England.

' 3. Mr. Hooker's Judgment of the King's Power in Matters of Religion, Advancement of Bishops, &c.

' 4. Bishop Andrews of Church Government, &c.; both confirmed and enlarged by the said Primate.

' 5. A Letter of Dr. Hadrianus Saravia, of the like subjects. Unto which is added a Sermon of Regal Power, and the Novelty of the Doctrine of Resistance. Published by Nicholas Bernard, Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of Whitchurch in Shropshire.

' Si totus orbis adversus me conjuraret, ut quidquam moliter adversus regiam Majestatem, ego tamen Deum timerem, et ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere temere non auderem. *Bern. Ep. I. 70. ad Ludovicum Regem, an. 1130. London, 1661.*

The Preface, written by Dr. Sanderfon, is dated "London, Aug. 10, 1661," and subscribed "The unworthy servant of Jesus Christ, RO. LINCOLN."

XIII. "PRO-

XIII. "PROPHECIES concerning the RETURN of POPERY," inserted in a book entitled 'Fair Warning: The second Part. *London*, 1663.' This volume containing also several extracts from the Writings of Archbishop Whitgift, and Mr. Richard Hooker, was published with a view to oppose the Sectaries, who were said to be opening a door at which Popery would certainly enter.

XIV. "The PREFACE to the BOOK of COMMON PRAYER," beginning with these words; "It hath been the wisdom of the church"—

XV. "ΕΙΗΝΟΜΙΣ, seu EXPLANATIO JURAMENTI," &c. inserted in the 'Excerpta e Corpore Statutorum Univ. Oxoniensis,' p. 194. It was written to explain the Oath of Obligation to observe the penal Statutes.

XVI. "ARTICLES of VISITATION and ENQUIRY concerning MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL, exhibited to the Ministers, Churchwardens, and Sidemen of every Parish within the Diocese of Lincoln, in the first episcopal Visitation of the Right Rev. Father in God, ROBERT, by Divine Providence, Lord Bishop of Lincoln; with the Oath to be administered to the Churchwardens, and the Bishop's Admonition to them. *London*, 1662."—4to. See an account of this excellent tract in "Kennet's Register," p. 727.

XVII. Mr. Peck, in the 'Desiderata Curiosa,' Vol. II. has inserted "The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES of the CATHEDRAL CHURCH of the Blessed Virgin St. MARY, at LINCOLN; containing an exact Copy of all the monumental Inscriptions there, in Number 163, as they stood in 1641; most of which were soon after torn up, or otherwise defaced. Collected by ROBERT SANDERSON, S. T. P. afterwards Lord Bishop of that Church, and compared with and corrected by Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE's MS. Survey."

Dr. White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, had in his possession the copies of two letters transcribed from the originals that were in the hands of Bishop Barlow. 1. Superscribed "For Mr. Thomas Barlow, at the Library in Oxon," and subscribed "Your very loving friend and servant, ROBERT SANDERSON," dated "Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 28, 1656," importuning Dr. Barlow, "to undertake the managing that dispute in the question of great importance upon the ancient landmarks, by Dr. Jeremy Taylor; so unhappily (and so unseasonably too) endeavoured to be removed in the doctrine of original sin." 2. Another letter of Dr. Sanderson to Dr. Barlow, at Queen's College, dated "Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 17, 1657," expressing himself, "That Dr. Taylor is so peremptory and pertinacious of his errors, as not to hearken to the sober advices of his grave, reverend, and learned friends, amidst the distractions of these times," &c. See "Kennet's Register," p. 633.

The treatise here alluded to is entitled "Unum Necessarium, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance, describing the Necessity and Measures of a strict, holy, and a Christian Life, and rescued from popular errors. By JER. TAYLOR, D. D." In the sixth chapter of this treatise the author discusses the subject of original sin otherwise than it is commonly explained in the Church of England; whose ninth article affirms, that "the natural propensity to evil, and the perpetual lusting of the flesh against the spirit, deserves the anger of God and damnation." See also another tract inserted in Taylor's Polemical and Moral Discourses, under the title

of "Deus Justificatus; or a Vindication of the Glory of the Divine Attributes in the Question of original Sin, in a Letter to a Person of Quality."

It is foreign to my purpose to examine this subject of controversy. What Dr. Jeremy Taylor has advanced upon the question proceeded from the best motives, according to his own motto,—*"Nihil opinionis gratiâ, omnia conscientiæ faciam."*

Dr. Sanderfon and Dr. Hammond were jointly concerned in a work entitled "A PACIFIC DISCOURSE of GOD's GRACE and DECREES," and published by the latter in 1660.

It would be improper not to observe, that in the preface to the Polyglott Bible, printed at London in 1657, Dr. Bryan Walton has classed Dr. Sanderfon among those of his much honoured friends who assisted him in that noble work.

ADDENDA.

ADDENDA.

Page 62, line 5, *his beloved London.*] When it is recollected how much Dr. Donne was attached to London, we are surprised to find that in one of his letters he speaks of *plaguy* London. Let it be remarked, that this word had not at that time a burlesque sense. Donne, in one of his elegies, has "Death's *plaguy* jaws;" i. e. affected with the plague.

Page 65, line 11, *Dr. Gataker.*] Mr. Walton tells us, that Dr. Donne was chosen preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, upon the removal of Mr. Thomas Gataker. But this is a mistake: for Mr. Gataker, who is improperly styled Doctor, having never taken any degree but that of Bachelor of Divinity, left Lincoln's Inn for the rectory of Rotherhithe in Surrey, in 1611; six years before Dr. Donne was chosen there.

Page 94, line 5, *that glafs.*] "In the account of churchwardens of St. Helens, in Abington, Berks, IVd. was paid for an hourglass for the pulpit, 1591. *Archæolog. Vol. I. p. 22.* There is scarcely perhaps an earlier mention of this implement. It was used at Paul's Cross in 1616; for in a painting of that and the church of that date, now in the library of the Society of Antiquarians of London, I observed an hourglass near the preacher; and the custom continued till after the Restoration; for a very fine one which cost XVIII shillings, was brought from Holland to Lynn in Norfolk. *Blomefield's History, Vol. IV. p. 131.* The iron frames in which they stood are sometimes still seen near pulpits." (*Sir John Cullum's Hist. and Antiq. of Huntingd., p. 34.*)

Page 116.] A satirical poem, called "A Scourge for Paper Persecutors, by I. D. 1625," 4to, has been attributed to Dr. Donne. It was written by John Davies of Hereford, and is printed in his "Scourge of Folly," 8vo, which is not inserted by Wood among the works of Davies. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 444.

Dr. Donne is esteemed the author of a Latin epitaph, inscribed on a monument erected in the church of Hansted in Suffolk, to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Drury, Knight, who died in 1610, in the 15th year of her age. She was the heiress of an immense fortune, and is said to have been destined for the consort of Henry Prince of Wales. The Lines by Dr. Donne, inserted in "The Spectator," No. 41, and affirmed to allude to his mistress, were really written on this lady, the innocent and lovely daughter of his friend. Tradition reports, that she died of a box on the ear, which her father gave her. This conceit rose probably from her being represented on her monument as reclining her head on one hand; just as the story of Lord Russell's daughter dying of a prick of her finger,

finger, took its origin from her statue in Westminster Abbey, which represents her as holding down her finger, and pointing to a Death's head at her feet.

In the same church of Hansted, is another monument, with an inscription, supposed to be written by Dr. Donne, commemorating both Sir William Drury, who, in 1589, was killed in a duel, in France, by Sir John Borough, Knight, and Sir Robert Drury, Knight, his son, who died in 1615. See "Hist. and Antiq. of Hansted," p. 143.

"A Copy of Verses, by Dr. Donne," is prefixed to "Captain Smith's History of Virginia, 1626." Fol.

Page 152, line 20, *a will of conceits.*] The passage, to which Isaac Walton alludes, is in a poem of Dr. Donne's, entitled "The Will."

"I give my reputation to those
 "Which were my friends; mine industry to foes;
 "To schoolmen I bequeath my doubtfulness;
 "My sickness to physicians, or excess;
 "To Nature all that I in rhyme have writ,
 "And to my company my wit."

Page 156, line 26, *Bishop of Spalato.*] The opinion usually entertained concerning the conduct of "De Dominis," upon his return to Rome, is less favourable to his character than he deserves, if we may judge from the narrative of Dr. John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, in his "History of Transubstantiation," C. II. § vii. We are assured, that on his departure from England, he left in writing this memorable declaration: "I am resolved, even with the danger of my life, to profess before the Pope himself, that the Church of England is a true and orthodox Church of Christ." This he not only promised, but faithfully performed. He could never be persuaded by the Jesuits or others, either to subscribe to the *new-devised* tenets of the Council of Trent, or to retract those orthodox books which he had printed in England and Germany, or to renounce the Communion of the Church of England, in whose defence he constantly persisted to the very last.

Page 176, line 21, *History of England.*] "Sir Henry Wotton had a pension of 200l. settled on him in the third year of this reign (of Charles I.), which was now augmented to 500l. to enable him to compose "The Ancient History of England," and to bestow 100l. on the amanuenses and clerks necessary to be employed in that work." (*Acta Regia*, p. 815.)

Page 191, line 14, *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.*] In Cibber's, or rather Shield's Lives of the Poets, the only specimen given of Sir Henry Wotton's poetry, is the famous composition, "The World's a Bubble," which, in "The Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," is said to have been found among his papers, the author unknown. Farnaby, in his "Epigrammata Selecta, 1629," ascribes it to Lord Bacon. He has translated it into Greek, and has some various readings.

Of Sir Henry Wotton's Latin Panegyric on Charles I. there are two translations by unknown hands: The one is inserted in "The Reliquiæ Wottonianæ;" the other is very scarce,

scarce, printed in a very small twenty-fours, on a large type, containing 118 pages, besides the Dedication and Preface.

A
Panegyrick
of King Charles,
being observations
upon the inclination
life & govern-
-ment of our Sove-
-raign Lord the
King.

Written by
Sir Henry Wotton, Knight,
Provost of Eaton Colledg,
a little before his Death,
And printed for Richard Marriott,
London.

Several of Sir Henry Wotton's letters are inserted in "Cabala, or Mysteries of State. *London*, 1654." in 4to; and in "Cabala, or Scrinia sacra. *London*, 1663." Fol.: Also in "Strafford's Letters and Despatches, 1739." Fol.

The two following tracts, which are noticed in p. 191, as written by Sir Henry Wotton, were never printed; namely,

"The Journal of his Embassies to Venice;" a MS. fairly written, and formerly in the library of Lord Edward Conway.

"Three Propositions to the Count d'Angosciola;" not as it has been erroneously printed, "The Court of Angosciola, in Matters of Duels;"—a MS. preserved in the library of the College of Arms

Page 216, line ult, *remarkable scholars*.] The celebrity of this college, founded in 1516, by Dr. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was in some measure predicted by Erasmus, in a letter to his friend, Dr. John Claymond, the first president: "Mihi præfagit Animus futurum olim ut istud Collegium, ceu Templum sacrosanctum, optimis literis dicatum, toto terrarum orbe, inter præcipua Decora Britanniae numeretur." See "Knight's Life of Erasmus," p. 211.

Page 253, line 3, *Tom Nash*.] The three titles mentioned by Walton belong all to one pamphlet, which Gabriel Hervie supposes to be written by Lylly.

Page

Page 264, line 12, *in that church.*] In Queen Elizabeth's time, the form of subscription, required from those who were preferred in the Church, was in these words: "We, whose names are here underwritten, do declare and unfainedly testify our assent to all and singular the Articles of Religion, and the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacrament, comprised in a book, intituled 'Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, according to the Computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of the Diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion, put forth by the Queen's Authority.' And in testimony of such our assents, we have hereunto subscribed our names, with our own proper hands, as hereafter followeth."

Among those who subscribed to this form, "it pleased me," saith Dr. Bernard, "to find the hand of the reverend and learned Mr. Hooker thus subscribing: 'Per me RICHARDUM HOOKER, Clericum, in Artibus Magistrum, præsentatum ad Canonicatum et Præbendam de Neather-haven, in Ecclesiâ cathedrali Sarum, 17 Julii, 1591.'" (*Clavi Trabales.*)

Page 494, line 1, *well chosen.*] Aquinas, when asked with what compendium a man might best become learned, answered, "By reading of one book:" meaning, that an understanding entertained with several objects, is intent upon none of them, and profits not. (*Taylor's Life of Christ, p. 337.*)

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